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ABSTRACT

Following introductory material, this report examines the collective bargaining election in Pennsylvania's stateowned colleges. The second section establishes the contextual framework for the election. This section discusses certain features of the Pennsylvania State Colleges, reviews the election campaign waged by the respective contending associations, and provides a brief analysis of respondents' answers to several open-ended questions at the end of the survey instrument pertaining to the issues in the campaign. The next five sections deal with the major issues being studied: faculty characteristics, the bargaining unit, the associations, the scope of negotiations, and internal versus external governance structures as influences on voting behavior. A description of the issue and a discussion of the survey results are presented for each issue. The final section summarizes the report findings and cites several conclusions generated from these findings. (Author/MJM)

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Anatomy of a Collective Bargaining Election in Pennsylvania's State-Owned Colleges

G. Gregory Lozier
and
Kenneth P. Mortimer

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
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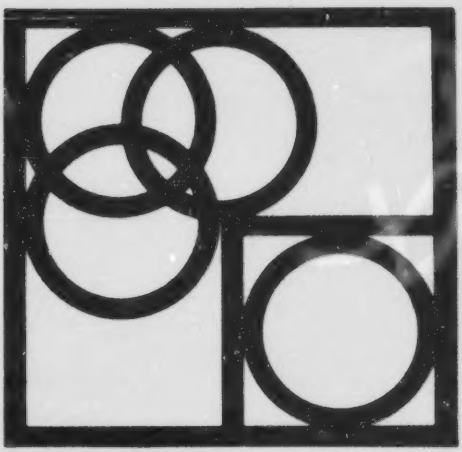

Center for the Study of
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The Pennsylvania State University

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I

Introduction

Collective Bargaining: Need for the Study

Collective bargaining among college and university faculty is a relatively new development. It has been just ten years since the first faculty strike at the Detroit Institute of Technology in 1963, and only eight years since faculty picket lines were assembled at St. John's University in New York.

By 1969, the faculty at a number of two-year institutions had chosen collective bargaining. The City University of New York contract, however, because of its apparently high salary level, focused the attention of the entire higher education community on the unionization of faculty. From spring 1971 to spring 1973, the number of institutions with unionized faculty grew from 80 to 202, an increase of 152 percent.[1] In that same period, the total number of unionized campuses rose from 138 to 301, an increase of 118 percent. Faculty organizing activities have been concentrated in relatively few states, primarily as a result of legislation enabling public employees to bargain collectively. Ninety-five percent of all college and university campuses, public and private, with a collectively organized faculty are situated in just twelve states; 28 percent are in New York alone. In these states collective bargaining in higher education is a very significant issue, one which is creating new dimensions in faculty-administration and institution-state relationships.

While Wollett's comment that "One of the most surprising facts of collective negotiations in higher education is the paucity of reliable information"[2] is not as true today as it was two years ago, much of what is said or written about collective negotiations continues to be essentially speculative. A scarcity in relevant research is a result in part of the nature of the collective bargaining phenomenon.

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[1]The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 10, 1971, p. 14; April 30, 1973, p. 4.

[2]D. H. Wollett, "The Status and Trends of Collective Negotiations for Faculty in Higher Education," *Wisconsin Law Review* 1971 (No. 1): 29.

Although collective bargaining appears to have inevitable impact upon the governance structures and processes of the institution, this impact has not been realized since many unionized colleges and universities have not yet completed negotiations, or are only in the first year of an agreement. Furthermore, contract negotiations are often held up. In one instance they lagged for eighteen months and in another, for twenty-four months. Under these circumstances, it has been difficult to assess to any great measure the ongoing impact of collective bargaining on the institution.

This report is an account of the voting behavior of the faculty members in the thirteen Pennsylvania State Colleges and Indiana University of Pennsylvania (to be referred to henceforth as the Pennsylvania State Colleges) in an election to choose a bargaining agent.* The election was held on October 6, 1971, with three associations on the ballot: (1) the Association of Pennsylvania State College and University Faculties in affiliation with the Pennsylvania Association for Higher Education (APSCUF-PAHE) and associated with the National Education Association (NEA); (2) the American Association of University Professors (AAUP); and (3) the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). A fourth choice, "No Representative", also appeared on the ballot as specified by statute.[3] The election was won on the first ballot by APSCUF-PAHE, which obtained 55.5 percent of the vote.

This research studies the relationship between voting behavior and two potential sources of variance: (1) faculty characteristics and (2) attitudes and/or opinions about several key issues of collective negotiations in higher education. This design goes beyond existing studies, most of which looked for relationships between demographic and social characteristics and attitudes toward collective bargaining, by associating characteristics and attitudinal variables with voting

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*The thirteen are: Bloomsburg, California, Cheyney, Clarion, E. Stroudsburg, Edinboro, Kutztown, Lock Haven, Mansfield, Millersville, Shippensburg, Slippery Rock, West Chester and Indiana University.

[3]The Pennsylvania Public Employee Relations Act (Act 195), July 1970.

behavior.[4] This study assumes significant differences between peoples' feeling toward an issue and their ultimate reaction when confronted by a situation in which they must make a choice between alternatives. The faculty characteristics examined include academic rank, age, sex, academic discipline, length of service at the present and other institutions, tenure status, employment status (full-time versus part-time), service on faculty committees, department chairmanship, and involvement in teacher education. The issues were synthesized from relevant literature and were as follows: the scope of negotiations, the bargaining unit, differences among national associations, and the influence of internal versus external governance structures upon the selection of a bargaining agent.

Design of the Study

The method of data collection chosen for this study was the survey questionnaire. An original instrument[5] was designed and tested for face validity by several labor relations experts, two research methodologists, professional staff members from one of the associations involved in the election, and three faculty members, then on leave from several of the State Colleges, who were pursuing graduate studies at The Pennsylvania State University. The questionnaire was distributed to a 50 percent sample of the actual bargaining unit membership which consisted of all full-time faculty, part-time faculty, department chairmen, and librarians with and without faculty status.

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[4]For example: J. O. Haehn, *A Study of Trade Unionism Among State College Professors* (Academic Senate of the California State Colleges, 1970); J. W. Moore, "Attitudes Toward Collective Negotiations: "Pennsylvania Community College Faculty" (University Park, Pa.: Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1971); R. W. Opdahl, *Faculty Participation in Academic Decision Making in "Emerging" State Colleges* (Williamsport, Pa.: Economic Research Associates, Inc., 1971); R. E. Lane, "Faculty Unionism in a California State College—A Comparative Analysis of Union Members and Non-Union Members" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 1967).

[5]For a copy of the instrument, see Gilmour Gregory Lozier, "Voting Patterns of Pennsylvania State College Faculty in a Collective Negotiations Election" (Doctoral dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University, 1973).

A series of four mailings conducted over a six-week period between January 10, 1972 and February 22, 1972 produced an overall response rate of 61.2 percent (n = 1263). Because thirty-nine of these instruments were totally unusable and another 266 were not completed entirely, the response rate for individual items of the questionnaire ranged from 59.3 percent (n = 1224) to 46.4 percent (n = 958).

Statistical analysis of sampling distributions and of the data collected to test research hypotheses employed three different procedures: chi-square test of statistical independence,(2) chi-square test of hypothetical proportions, and (3) analysis of variance. Additional statistical follow-up procedures (a chi-square analog to Scheffé's Theorem and the Tukey WSD test) were used to analyze further preliminary statistical significances. A standard *alpha* of 0.05 was employed as the level of significance for all tests. Since the computerized programs utilized allowed for reading over missing data, values for missing data were not supplied and the sample size n for each test varied according to the rate of response for a particular questionnaire item.

Since one of the criticisms of the mail survey is its inability to account for or estimate the effect of nonrespondents upon the obtained results, several statistical tests were conducted to assess the reliability of the sampling distribution of respondents. Table I presents the corresponding distributions of voting behavior for the actual election population with the behavior of the survey respondents. A nonsignificant chi-square ($X^2 = 2.99$, df = 3) suggested that the sample of voting respondents was representative of the *voting population*.

TABLE I
VOTE DISTRIBUTION FOR THE POPULATION AND FOR THE SAMPLE OF RESPONDENTS

	Voting Option									
	APSCUF-PAHE		AAUP		AFT		No Rep		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Population	2009	55.5	1282	35.4	158	4.4	169	4.7	3618	100.0
Respondents	659	57.7	383	33.5	44	3.8	56	4.9	1142	100.0

$X^2 = 2.99$, df = 3.

Additional procedures included a theoretical test of proportions of the relationship between the distribution of the population and the sample of respondents by academic rank and by voting behavior for each of the four mailings, plus appropriate statistical tests between respondents and a sample of nonrespondents on three variables: academic discipline, academic rank, and number of years of service at the institution. The results of these tests generally confirmed (1) that no bias apparently existed between the respondents and nonrespondents in the three characteristics examined and (2) that the obtained sample of respondents was representative of the Pennsylvania State College bargaining unit.[6]

Organization of the Report

The remainder of this report is presented in seven sections. The section immediately following establishes the contextual framework for the election. This section discusses certain features of the Pennsylvania State Colleges, reviews the election campaign waged by the respective contending associations, and provides a brief analysis of respondents' answers to several open-ended questions at the end of the survey instrument pertaining to the issues in the campaign. The next five sections deal with the major issues being studied: faculty characteristics, the bargaining unit, the associations, the scope of negotiations, and internal versus external governance structures as influences upon voting behavior. A description of the issue and a discussion of the survey results is presented for each issue. The final section summarizes the report findings and cites several conclusions generated from these findings.

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[6]The corresponding tables and statistical results of these tests are reported in Appendix B. In particular, several significant results are noted, and potential explanations for the significances discussed.

II

Contextual Framework of the Election

The bargaining agent election for the Pennsylvania State Colleges was not an isolated event. The environment in which it occurred was influenced by the organizational and curricular transitions of these colleges, by their relationship to the state, and by their governance structures. Hence, in order to understand faculty attitudes about the election and election issues, some understanding of the electoral context is required. This chapter contains a brief historical overview of the Pennsylvania State Colleges followed by a review of the election campaign, and a summary of faculty responses to these campaign issues.

Historical Overview[1]

The Pennsylvania State Colleges have followed an evolutionary pattern generally attributable to most state colleges in the United States: from local academies, to normal schools, to state teacher colleges, and ultimately to state colleges and universities. In 1857 Pennsylvania passed "An Act to Provide for the Due Training of Teachers for the Common Schools of the State"; in 1859 the institution presently known as Millersville State College became the first school to receive recognition as a Pennsylvania normal school.[2] Between 1913 and 1922, by authority of the State's 1910 School Code, the state of Pennsylvania acquired sole ownership of the then fourteen state normal schools. Between 1923 and 1932 these normal schools were granted the power to confer degrees and to change their name to State Teachers' Colleges. Although in the ensuing years their relationship with the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania underwent several

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[1] An historical perspective of the Pennsylvania State Colleges is also found in William Toombs and Stephen D. Millman, *Pennsylvania's "State-Owned" Institutions: Some Dimensions of Degree Output* (University Park, Pa.: Center for the Study of Higher Education, Report No. 20, February, 1973).

[2] Saul Sack, *History of Higher Education in Pennsylvania*, vol. 2 (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1963), p. 526.

transitions, the next significant change for these colleges was the elimination of the "Teachers" designation in 1960. In 1966 a further alteration was made when an act of the Pennsylvania legislature changed the name of Indiana State College to Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

In very recent years, several significant changes in the system-wide state governance of these colleges have occurred. In 1970, the State Colleges were separated from the public school system and became a part of the Commonwealth system of higher education.[3] A Board of State College and University Directors was created and charged with the responsibility to plan and coordinate the development of the system of State Colleges. As currently administered, the Pennsylvania State Colleges are operating within a complex governance structure which includes the:

1. Secretary of Education.
2. State Department of Education.
3. Board of State Colleges Directors.
4. Boards of Trustees of the several State Colleges and Universities.
5. Board of Presidents of State Colleges and State Universities.
6. Presidents of the fourteen state-owned colleges.[4]

Since the passage of Act 224 in 1972,[5] the responsibilities of the Secretary of Education and the State Department of Education have been increased, particularly for new program approvals and campus expansion.

The transition during the 1960s of the Pennsylvania State Teachers' Colleges to state college status was accompanied by an increasing curricular emphasis on the arts, humanities, and sciences. Nevertheless, teacher training has remained a major function and service of these institutions. In the area of governance, faculty members

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[3]Act of the General Assembly No. 13. Approved February 17, 1970.

[4]W. F. Donny, *A Study of Governance Patterns of State-Owned Higher Education Institutions*, rev. ed. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1972), p. 18.

[5]Act of the General Assembly No. 224. Approved 1972.

at these colleges have had varying degrees of impact upon institutional decision making. On some campuses, faculty senates had functioned less than four years at the time of the bargaining agent election in 1971, while other campuses had no governing faculty body.

Salary scales compiled by the AAUP indicated that for the academic year 1971-72, the average salary of faculty members at the Pennsylvania State Colleges was below those of their counterparts at the three major state-related universities in Pennsylvania,[6] and below those at the State Colleges in New Jersey where the faculty had already unionized. For example, average faculty compensation (adjusted for fringe benefits) *for full professors* at the Pennsylvania State Colleges was approximately $5,000 to $6,000 below compensation for their counterparts in the state-related universities, and $4,000 to $5,000 below that of full professors in the New Jersey system. At the associate, assistant, and instructor ranks, the Pennsylvania State College faculty compensation was approximately $3,000, $2,000, and $3,000 lower respectively than the monies received at the other aforementioned colleges and universities.

Statewide coordination and line-item budget control has further limited the scope of individual institutional planning and decision making of the Pennsylvania State Colleges. In general, conditions at these colleges were fairly typical of those conditions described by the American Association for Higher Education Task Force on Academic Governance in 1967 as conducive to faculty unionization:

> In many cases, these institutions have grown out of former teachers colleges which had a limited enrollment and a specific educational objective. In this

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[6]The Pennsylvania State University, Temple University, and the University of Pittsburgh. A fourth institution, Lincoln University, has become a state-related institution since 1971.

> context, the conventional forms of faculty representation often are shallowly rooted or nonexistent. Consequently, when the institution is elevated suddenly to a full-fledged college or university, many strains are likely to develop. The new faculty members, in particular, who come with strongly held notions of faculty rights to representation may have strong negative reactions to the lingering style of rigid administrative control. The problems of transition have on occasion been aggravated by the fact that the top administrators have a background in secondary education with an authoritarian tradition of management inappropriate to colleges and universities. Significantly, several studies have revealed that in such situations militant faculty activity—including the formation of a union—is more likely to come from newer faculty members with exemplary academic credentials than from the more senior elements on the campus.[7]

The legal right of the faculty at the Pennsylvania State Colleges to become collectively organized and bargain was guaranteed by the Pennsylvania "Public Employe Relations Act" of July 1970.[8] On January 22, 1971, the Association of Pennsylvania State Colleges and University Faculties–Pennsylvania Association for Higher Education (APSCUF-PAHE)—petitioned the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board (PLRB) for exclusive representation of all faculty at the Pennsylvania State Colleges and University.[9] Subsequently, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) filed intervening petitions on February 8, 1971 and March 3, 1971, respectively. Disagreement over the definition of an appropriate bargaining unit for the Pennsylvania State

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[7]AAHE-NEA Task Force on Faculty Representation and Academic Negotiations, *Faculty Participation in Academic Governance* (Washington, D. C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1967), pp. 10-11.

[8]Act of the General Assembly No. 195, "Public Employe Relations Act." Approved July 23, 1970.

[9]Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board, "The Order and the Notice of Election," August 4, 1971.

Colleges, and with the procedures for resolving that disagreement, prevented the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board from issuing a unit determination decision until August 4, 1971. The Board ordered an election for October 6, 1971. Regarding the unit, the Board concluded:

> That the unit appropriate for the purpose of collective bargaining is a subdivision of the Employer Unit comprised of all department chairmen, full-time teaching faculty (including librarians with faculty status), part-time teaching faculty, and librarians without faculty status employed by the employer at the thirteen state colleges and at Indiana University of Pennsylvania.[10]

The Election Campaign

In order to comprehend the results of the collective bargaining agent election more thoroughly, an examination of the bargaining agent election campaign was deemed appropriate. The primary purpose of this examination was to determine the issues which were debated and perhaps responsible for the outcome of the election. Two procedures were used to gather information about the campaign. The first was an examination of available campaign literature. From this material, campaign proposals, charges, and countercharges have been extracted. Secondly, open-ended questions were included on the survey instrument. These latter results present the campaign issues from the perspective of the respondents to the questionnaire.

As evidenced by the election returns, the election was primarily a two-way contest, with the AFT and "No Representative" options together receiving only 9.1 percent of the votes cast. The AAUP and APSCUF-PAHE received 35.4 percent and 55.5 percent of the votes respectively. (Approximately 10 percent of the eligible voters did not vote.) It became apparent during the summer months preceding the election that the AFT would not be a contender in the election. Ferris noted that during these months, when the other two associations were issuing a considerable volume of campaign literature, only one piece of AFT literature appeared in the mails.[11]

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[10] Ibid., p. 2.

[11] F. J. Ferris, "The Progress of an Election," *APSCUF/PAHE Journal* 25 (December 1971): 3-6.

Accordingly, the AFT's position on the issues of the campaign was not readily discernible.

During the campaign an organization was established to promote the election of the "No Representative" option: The Volunteers Operating To Elect No Organization (VOTE NO). The VOTE NO position on the election was put forth in a fact sheet issued by the group entitled "You Can Vote No."[12] This publication made several main points. First, it suggested that the "real question" in the election was not which association should be elected, but whether or not to unionize. Second, the VOTE NO publication suggested that existing structures of faculty governance were more effective for the protection of basic faculty rights than collective bargaining. The publication portrayed collective bargaining as seeking equality through mediocrity and faculty senates as faculty-instituted organizations deriving their powers from the governed constituents. Third, the benefits of collective bargaining accrued to the victorious association and not to the individual faculty member. With statewide negotiations, local inputs would be minimal or nonexistent. Fourth, depending upon the determination of a representative agency, the bargaining agreement could ultimately be ratified by only a minority of the members of the unit. Fifth, and finally, the major thrust and hope of the VOTE NO campaign was to create a run-off election. The emphasis in this campaign was *vote*, though preferably for "No Representative." The "No Representative" group indicated their belief a "no" vote would not be thrown away, that it would not be a vote against any of the contending associations, but that it would be a vote against unionization.

If there was one overriding issue between the AAUP and APSCUF-PAHE portrayed in available campaign materials, it was the series of events during the spring of 1971 pertaining to the determination of the bargaining unit which postponed the election until the following fall. APSCUF-PAHE portrayed the series of events as follows:[13]

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[12]"You Can Vote NO! Facts and Reflections on the October 6 Election" (Volunteers Operating to Elect No Organization, n.d.).

[13]"Chronology of Election Events," *Election Extra* (Harrisburg, Pa.: APSCUF-PAHE, n.d.), p.4.

Following the initial petition by APSCUF-PAHE in January 1971, and subsequent intervening petitions by the AAUP and AFT in the weeks that followed, the Board of State Colleges and University Presidents took the position that department chairmen should be excluded from the bargaining unit. When it was determined that the Governor and the State Office of Administration would be declared the employer for the State Colleges, the personnel committee of the Board of State Colleges and University Directors decided not to go on record on the chairman issue. Over the weekend of April 16-17, APSCUF-PAHE mounted a statewide campaign for inclusion of department chairmen in the unit. At a meeting on Monday, April 19 with the Lieutenant Governor, who became involved at the request of the Governor, the common position of the three associations was reasserted. A week later, at a meeting of the Board of Presidents with the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor, the Board modified its position and agreed to include department chairmen in the bargaining unit.

On April 28 representatives of the associations were invited to a meeting on the following day in the Lieutenant Governor's office. At this meeting the revised position of the state was announced, along with a call for the initiation of negotiations as soon as possible.

The AAUP representatives did not appear at the preelection hearing before the PLRB on April 29, but they did file an unfair labor practice charge. This charge claimed collusion between the Commonwealth and APSCUF-PAHE. According to APSCUF-PAHE, this latter action was a deliberate delay tactic which aborted the hearing as well as efforts for an early election. The Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania announced that before an election could be conducted, a full-scale hearing of the AAUP's collusion complaint would have to be heard, at which time the entire department chairman issue could possibly be reexamined. At a meeting in the Office of the Commonwealth Attorney on May 21, the AAUP agreed to withdraw its charges and to proceed with an election in the fall. This agreement also reaffirmed inclusion of department chairmen in the bargaining unit.

Although letters of agreement were written and mailed for signatures to all concerned parties on May 27, a signed copy of the AAUP's agreement was not received until July 14, 1971. In an exchange of letters between the APSCUF-PAHE campaign coordinator and the Lieutenant Governor, several of the facts established at the April 28 meeting in the Lieutenant Governor's office were reaffirmed.[14] These included: (a) That the Commonwealth was ready and eager for a spring election, (b) That resolving the matter of inclusion or exclusion in the bargaining unit of job titles in APSCUF-PAHE's petition other than the department chairman would prohibit the possibility of a spring election, and (c) That the Board of Presidents had requested a commitment from the Association of a willingness for local negotiations on local issues.

A memorandum from a national NEA staff officer to APSCUF-PAHE staff members working on the election emphasized that prior to the AAUP's "delay tactics" APSCUF-PAHE had been able to get the administration to agree to include department chairmen in the unit and to consent to May 10, 1971 as an election date.[15] The memorandum presented APSCUF-PAHE's general attitude toward the AAUP's unfair practice charges.

> AAUP, realizing that it could not possibly win an election at that time, suddenly filed an unfair labor practice charge against the state charging it with "collusion" with APSCUF. That the charge had no basis in fact apparently did not bother AAUP—they only wanted to stall the election in order to gain time so they could build an organization.
>
> AAUP, having served its purpose by stalling the May 10 election, later dropped its charges; PLRB rescheduled the election for October 6.[16]

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[14] Letter from Martin J. Morand, Campaign Coordinator, APSCUF-PAHE, to Ernest P. Kline, Harrisburg, Pa., September 21, 1971; letter from the Hon. Ernest P. Kline, Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, to Martin J. Morand, Harrisburg, Pa., September 23, 1971.

[15] National Education Association Higher Education Staff, "Memorandum: Background Stuff You Need to Know" (n.d.).

[16] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

The AAUP's "delay tactics" became a more critical issue for APSCUF-PAHE after the implementation of the federal wage and price freeze in August 1971. The campaign by APSCUF-PAHE emphasized that the delay in the election cost faculty members money by suggesting that a new contract could have been negotiated and by suggesting that a new contract could have been negotiated and implemented before the wage and price controls were enacted.

The same sequence of events as portrayed by the AAUP was not altogether different from APSCUF-PAHE's, though the details and conclusions were notably different.

In a letter to all faculty from the Pennsylvania State College and University Council, the AAUP explained to the faculty its unfair practices charge.[17] The letter stated that the charge was not merely a matter of campaign rhetoric, but was founded in concrete evidence of collusion between APSCUF-PAHE and the Board of Presidents. AAUP indicated that these two groups had been "working together to arrange matters to their mutual satisfaction, consciously excluding all legitimate faculty spokesmen other than APSCUF, PSEA, and NEA representatives from their deliberations."[18] The AAUP's actual charge to the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board stated:

> On or about March 31, 1971, the Personnel Committee of the Board of State College and University Presidents met with the Association of Pennsylvania State College and University Faculties (herein-after referred to as "APSCUF") to review administrative position classifications and salary range. This meeting was held without notice to the charging party herein [AAUP] notwithstanding the fact that the charging party herein had, on March 15, 1971, advised the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board of its intention to intervene in the representation petition filed by the APSCUF. . . .
>
> In addition thereto the Board of State College and University Presidents has bypassed the Complainant herein on other matters pertaining to wages, hours and working conditions and attempted to deal directly with APSCUF.

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[17] Open Letter from the Pennsylvania State College and University Council, AAUP, Harrisburg, Pa., May 4, 1971.

[18] Ibid., p. 1.

> APSCUF has sought to obtain authorization cards designating it as a collective bargaining representative by extracting from faculty members a commitment, in violation of the provisions of applicable law, that such authorization card is irrevocable.
>
> By these and other acts the Board of State College and University Presidents is guilty of dominating, promoting and fostering the formation and interests of APSCUF all of which activities are in violation of Section 1201 (a) (2) of the Act.[19]

The May 4 AAUP Council letter to the faculty indicated that the AAUP had attended several meetings with authorized members of employer and employee groups, meetings at which all groups presented their views on the status of department chairmen and the bargaining unit. No other matter, according to the AAUP letter, but the department chairman issue was discussed at these meetings. Most critically, the issue of nonteaching professionals was not considered. Despite some progress, the AAUP had remained relatively convinced since March that a spring election was no longer possible. The letter continued:

> Early in April we began to hear assertions that the election could be held this Spring if only the chairmen question could be resolved. We were at a loss to understand what had happened to the other major questions still unresolved, but did get the impression that the Commonwealth, that is to say, the Board of Presidents and the Office of Administration, were prepared to yield almost anything. We assumed the hearings would give us knowledge of the present positions of the O.A., the Presidents, AFT, and APSCUF-PAHE, and give us an opportunity to do what we could to facilitate agreement.
>
> On Tuesday, April 27, the Board of Presidents reversed its "unanimous" decision against inclusion of department chairmen. On Wednesday, the 28th, we were asked to attend on Thursday, the 29th, *not* a hearing before the PLRB but an informal chat with the Board. The invitation made clear that all points

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[19]Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board, Charge of Unfair Practices, Case No. PERA-C-1077-C, April 28, 1971.

> at issue were believed to have been resolved by all parties concerned. We had not been consulted on a single point of substance or of procedure at any time other than the one question of chairmen. We discovered PSEA was announcing *on Wednesday* that an election date had been set for May 12. We were, in short, informed that agents of the Commonwealth had wittingly or unwittingly acquiesced in a connived arrangement of the future of our colleges in violation of the letter and spirit of the law and of equity.[20]

The unfair labor practice charge followed.

Regarding the countercharge that the AAUP's sole intent was to delay the election to gain time to organize a campaign, the AAUP declared such accusations to be untrue. They wrote: "Those who are guilty of unfair labor practices are responsible for the issuance of charges, not the complainant."[21] The AAUP was also satisfied that the delay of the election did not, in fact, cost the faculty of the state colleges any money, either because of the wage and price freeze or otherwise. In a question and answer bulletin, the AAUP noted that according to Act 195 the budget of the public employer must be submitted by February 1 in order for the legislature to take action on proposed expenditures negotiated in the agreement.[22] Hence, negotiations taking place after February 2, 1971, could affect only the 1972-73 academic year and after.

There was also some indication that the delay in the AAUP's return of a signed agreement for an election between May 27 and July 14 was initiated by the AAUP desire for Commonwealth assurance about the future nature of employer-employee relationships between the state and the state colleges. The withdrawal of AAUP's charges and the letter of agreement were forwarded from the AAUP staff only *after* the AAUP had received a letter of confirmation of certain issues from the Office of Administration Director of Labor Relations. The Director's letter stated:

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[20] Open Letter from the AAUP Council.

[21] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[22] As the AAUP Sees It: "Questions and Answers Relating to the Current Collective Bargaining Campaign in Pennsylvania," September 24, 1971.

1. Representatives of the Commonwealth will avoid all discussions or meetings with any employee group to the exclusion of other interested groups, envisioning the execution of a collective bargaining agreement under Act 195.

2. Managerial personnel employed at the various state colleges and universities shall be instructed that under no circumstances are they to solicit, encourage, or discharge membership in any organization which seeks to represent employees under Act 195.

3. The Commonwealth will, of course, consult with all interested groups with respect to arrangements for the forthcoming representation election.

The foregoing is submitted in an attempt to resolve amicably the charges of unfair practices which have been filed. *This is not to be construed as an admission of liability with respect to those charges or any violation of Act 195,* although the Commonwealth recognizes that AAUP considers the charges to have validity.[23]

As indicated in the above letter, the AAUP's charges were neither confirmed nor denied. The AAUP seems to have been seeking some assurance that its *perceptions* of the demonstrated preference of the employers for APSCUF-PAHE would cease.

The delay of the election from spring to fall 1971 was not the only issue in the campaign, and the detail with which the issue is discussed may seem excessive. However, the detail *conveys the extent to which the associations themselves viewed the importance of the issue.* Whether or not the faculty members recognize the same urgency is discussed later in this chapter.

Other campaign materials included flyers which proclaimed the great achievements of each of the associations on behalf of the faculty at the state colleges, and concurrent denials of the accomplishments of the competing associations. Both the AAUP and APSCUF-

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[23]Letter from C. J. Zervanos, Director of Labor Relations, Office of Administration, Harrisburg, Pa., to Richard Kirschner, July 7, 1971.

PAHE had "platforms" in which they indicated the positions they would take during negotiations on behalf of the state college faculty in the areas of economic interests of the faculty, campus governance, and grievance procedures.[24]

Ferris has suggested that despite the statewide election and campaign for the Pennsylvania State College bargaining agent, the ultimate determination of the election winner was the result of local issues, and even, regretably, local personalities.

> Chiefly, however, it was probably the individual efforts by individual campaign chairmen, and their ability to form effective campaign structures, whereby each member of a given college's faculty was contacted, talked to, and hopefully persuaded that delivered the votes.[25]

Ferris indicated that four issues, not all of which were clearly evidenced in available campaign literature, were evident in the campaign:

> Which of the two organizations, AAUP or APSCUF, was the more "professional" organization?
>
> Was APSCUF dominated by NEA and PSEA (and therefore, by implication, by public school teachers and administrators), as AAUP charged?
>
> Was AAUP dominated by members from private colleges and universities (who, by implication, would be insensitive to the needs of the state colleges and university), as APSCUF charged?
>
> Which organization had superior resources and manpower to conduct effective professional negotiations once the campaign was over?[26]

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[24]The Pennsylvania State College and University Council, AAUP, "Proposed Goals of the AAUP in Collective Bargaining Negotiations" (n.d.); "APSCUF-PAHE Program for Progress," (Adopted by APSCUF-PAHE Campus Representatives Meeting in Harrisburg, Pa., September 11-12, 1971).

[25]Ferris, "The Progress of An Election."

[26]Ibid.

The Campaign As Viewed By the Faculty

Since the campaigns waged by the various election contenders are not necessarily related to the issues responsible for the voting behavior of the electorate, the following three items were presented at the end of the survey instrument used in this research:

> In your own words, state as clearly and succinctly as possible why you voted as you did in the election.
>
> What in your view were the major issues in the campaign?
>
> What campaign promises, if any, had an effect on your vote in this election?

Eighty-seven and a half percent of *all* respondents answered one or more of these questions, with the percentage response of each category of voters being APSCUF-PAHE–87.8%, AAUP–86.2%, AFT–81.8%, and "No Representative"–98.2%. Since the reason for one's vote, the issues of the campaign, and campaign promises are potentially quite complimentary, many respondents either did not answer all three items, repeated answers under two or more items, or indicated as an issue what another suggested was a campaign promise. The results indicated an almost total interchangeability of responses and items. For reporting purposes, responses were tallied into two categories: (a) reasons for vote and (b) campaign issues and promises. Because the campaign was primarily between two of the associations, there was much greater variety in the answers of the AAUP and APSCUF-PAHE respondents than AFT and "No Representative" respondents. This is reflected in Table 2, which presents the responses and the percent by voting behavior of respondents making a particular or similar response.[27]

The results are not entirely unexpected. The AFT was mostly concerned about campaign issues and promises in the area of salaries and fringe benefits, and supported the AFT in recognition of its

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[27] See Appendix A for Tables 2-27.

bargaining experience and ability. The supporters of the "No Representative" option indicated their dislike for unions, suggesting that faculty unionization is unprofessional and that the entire collective bargaining agent campaign process was largely irrational. AAUP voters responded most receptively to the overtures of the AAUP as a professional organization and were concerned about the national visibility of their institutions and the greater expertise in national higher education which could be afforded by the AAUP. Lastly, a notable proportion of AAUP respondents (17.9%) viewed the election as a contest between liberal arts and education, college professors and school teachers, academic scholarship and teacher training, and new faculty and old guard faculty. Two reasons given by APSCUF-PAHE respondents were considerably less significant for other voters: (1) The association I voted for is the best for the individual member and the state colleges; it is the strongest and the most effective association and can be expected to do the most (36.3%); (2) the association I voted for has the most power, influence, and resources; in general, the most "political clout" for dealing with Harrisburg (35.4%).

In April 1971, Flango and Brumbaugh undertook a survey of state college faculty attitudes toward collective bargaining.[28] This survey was conducted before the preliminary resolution of the department chairman issue, before the delay of the election, and before any real campaign was underway. In this survey, faculty were asked to designate their preferred choice of a bargaining agent. The result not only predicted the direction of the election outcome (APSCUF-PAHE first, AAUP second, "No Representative" third, and AFT fourth), but predicted a 56.3 percent vote for APSCUF-PAHE, compared to 55.5 percent in the actual election. Flango and Brumbaugh also reported that the faculty respondents in the survey mentioned salary

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[28]V. E. Flango and R. B. Brumbaugh, *Local-Cosmopolitanism: An Empirical Re-Evaluation* (Kutztown, Pa.: Educational Development Center, 1972); idem, *Preference for Bargaining Representative: Some Empirical Findings* (Educational Development Center, 1972).

as the single most important issue in the election. The present research also revealed salary as the most consistently recognized issue by respondents in all four voting categories; however, it was a majority issue only for AFT voters (see Table 2, number 18).

Some conclusions about the campaign are warranted at this point. Apparently, some of the campaign issues most significant to the associations and their representatives had relatively little impact upon the election itself. Particular note is made of the very negligible proportion of respondents who indicated that the AAUP's "delay tactics" and their promises late in the campaign of a 50 percent raise were significant campaign factors. It is also significant to note that even the issues most frequently stated as significant by the faculty (see Table 2) were designated significant by fewer than 50, in some cases 40, percent of the respondents in any one voting category. This may suggest that there was no overriding campaign issue for a majority of the voters. The issue of whether unionizing was an appropriate or professional means of faculty participation had some impact. However, it seems appropriate to conclude from the campaign literature, from the faculty perceptions of the campaign issues, and from Flango and Brumbaugh's findings, that the net effect of the campaign was zero. Although some individuals may have been influenced by the associations' campaigns, the overall group feeling of the faculty as expressed by the election results was not changed by the campaign itself.

III

Faculty Characteristics and Support for Collective Bargaining

Since collective bargaining made its first real inroads into higher education governance in the mid-1960s, there has been considerable speculation about the "type" of faculty member who might favor faculty unionization. Most of this speculation concluded that newer and younger faculty members would be more apt to favor collective action. Several studies have assessed the degree of relationship between faculty attitudes toward collective bargaining per se and various faculty demographic characteristics.

Previous Findings

Moore's study of faculty attitudes toward collective bargaining in ten Pennsylvania community colleges found that the most militant supporters of collective negotiations were young, non-Protestant, males with politically liberal orientations.[1] These men usually held graduate degrees, had teaching appointments in nonscience fields, lacked tenure, and occupied the lower academic ranks. Many also had previous high school teaching experience, former union membership, and were relatively dissatisfied with community college teaching. *Not* significantly related to attitudes about collective bargaining were the number of years associated with the colleges and past or current membership in professional groups such as the American Association of University Professors or the National Education Association.

Haehn conducted two studies of attitudes toward unionism and collective bargaining by California State College faculty. In his first study he found that union supporters in higher education were more typically from families which included clerical and skilled workers; in addition, those with previous union experience were more likely to support faculty unionization than those without previous union experience.

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[1] J. W. Moore, *Attitudes Toward Collective Negotiations: Pennsylvania Community College Faculty* (University Park, Pa.: Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1971).

Lastly, he found more support among Ph.D.s than among Ed.D.s. Haehn found only weak relationships between (a) age and union support and (b) sex and union suport.[2]

In another study of faculty at the California State Colleges, Lane[3] compared the characteristics of union (American Federation of Teachers) and nonunion members. Lane found that union members were significantly younger, had less college teaching experience, lower academic rank, and lower average salaries than nonunion members. While both union and nonunion members were more dedicated to teaching than to research, union members were more concerned with institutional prestige, held lower opinions of their college administrators, and were more willing to leave their college. Lastly, union members were more skeptical and critical of traditional faculty organizations and forms of collective action, and generally supported strike action.

Opdahl[4] determined that *opponents* of collective bargaining at two state colleges, one each in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, tended to be older, female, and in the higher faculty ranks. They were generally tenured, associated with the humanities or social sciences, and present or former members of the American Association of University Professors.

Although in his second study Haehn continued to analyze the relationship of favorable attitudes toward faculty unionization and such variables as academic discipline, academic rank, age, and views on the goals of education, he made a significant step in realizing that individual attitudes were not wholly a factor of youth or lower academic rank. He concluded:

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[2]J. O. Haehn, "A Study of Trade Unionism Among State College Professors" (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969).

[3]R. E. Lane, "Faculty Unionism in a California State College—A Comparative Analysis of Union Members and Non-Union Members" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 1967).

[4]R. W. Opdahl, *Faculty Participation in Academic Decision Making in "Emerging" State Colleges* (Williamsport, Pa.: Economic Research Associates, 1971).

> Analysis of the responses shows that the support for collective bargaining is no longer restricted to certain groups or cagegories within the ranks of State College instructors. Professors in virtually every disciplinary area, in almost each age group, at all rank levels, and of different educational and professional views all have increasingly come to endorse the necessity of instituting collective bargaining in the C.S.C. The possibility that such widespread and broadly based support is a temporary phenomenon is quite slim.[5]

This study made it clear that it was no longer sufficient to analyze attitudes pro and con unionization in some institutions. New insight could be gained, perhaps, by examining many previously studied characteristics in the context of an actual election. In an election, the faculty have the opportunity to object to unionization (voting for the "No Representative" option), or to delineate further between the various representative associations.

Characteristics and Voting Behavior

In the present study, thirteen faculty characteristics were examined: academic rank, tenure, sex, age, employment status (full- or part-time), department chairmanship, academic discipline, teacher-training involvement, institution-wide and school or department faculty committee service, and the number of years of service at their present institution, at any or all Pennsylvania State Colleges, at higher education institutions other than Pennsylvania State Colleges, and in secondary and/or elementary education institutions. In this study, statistical analysis necessitated the retention of null hypotheses that the following characteristics and voting behavior were independent of one another: academic rank, sex, employment status, department chairmanship, and service on governance committees.[6]

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[5]J. O. Haehn, *A Survey of Faculty and Administrative Attitudes on Collective Bargaining* (Academic Senate of the California State Colleges, 1970), p. 41.

[6]Throughout this monograph, many of the tables presenting data for which nonsignificant statistical results were produced were not included. Anyone seeking a more thorough examination of all data and statistical analysis, including the results of the many post

Tables 3-10 present the results of those comparisons producing significant statistical results between voting behavior and several faculty characteristics. Because in-depth analysis of these and succeeding tables is provided elsewhere (see footnote 6), discussion of the data will be somewhat general.

In the campaign literature, APSCUF-PAHE leaders referred to themselves as the "Young Turks of 1948." In 1948 the Pennsylvania State Colleges were still known as teachers' colleges, and teacher education was the primary interest of most faculty members. This history is reflected in the composite profile of APSCUF-PAHE voters as developed from the research data. APSCUF-PAHE voters were significantly older than other voters (Table 4) and, correspondingly, were more likely to hold tenure (Table 3). They were much more likely to be trained in education (Table 5).[7] (Of all APSCUF-PAHE respondents, 43.5 percent were so trained.) This compared to 9.4 percent, 15.9 percent, and 12.5 percent of the AAUP, AFT, and "No Representative" respondents respectively. It logically follows that APSCUF-PAHE voters were also more involved than other voters in the training of teachers and in teacher education (Table 6). Career-wise, APSCUF-PAHE respondents indicated that they had served longer at institutions which reflected an emphasis upon elementary or secondary education. APSCUF-PAHE voters had significantly more experience teaching in elementary and/or secondary schools (Table 10). They had served significantly longer both at their present State College (Table 7) and at one or more of the Pennsylvania State Colleges (Table 8). At the same time, APSCUF-PAHE voters had the least amount of experience teaching in higher education institutions other than the Pennsylvania State Colleges (Table 9).

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hoc tests, is referred to: Gilmour Gregory Lozier, "Voting Patterns of Pennsylvania State College Faculty in a Collective Negotiations Election" (Doctoral dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University, 1973).

[7]See Appendix C for a list of those fields of study included in each of the five broader categories: arts and humanities, education, social sciences, business, and sciences.

Almost all of the faculty characteristics data which produced significant results differentiated between APSCUF-PAHE voters and the other respondents. When viewed together, these distinguishing characteristics—academic discipline, involvement in teacher education, tenure, teaching experience, and age—create an impression of the APSCUF-PAHE voters as more in keeping with the teacher's college tradition of the Pennsylvania State Colleges than AAUP, AFT, or "No Representative" voters.

Profiles of the other voting blocks were not as distinctive. Some generalized information about each was revealed, however.[8] The "No Representative" voters were most unlike APSCUF-PAHE voters. These faculty members had the most teaching experience in other colleges and universities (mean years = 4.27), and the least experience in elementary, secondary, and/or Pennsylvania State College teaching (mean years = 2.69). Better than half of the "No Representative" voters were untenured, (52.7 percent), the only voters for which this was true. Lastly, when compared with other voters, almost twice the percentage of "No Representative" voters (37.5 percent) were in the sciences.

AAUP voters and AFT voters were more like than unlike one another. Slightly more than 60 percent of both the AAUP and AFT voters were tenured (Table 3). Approximately 45 percent of each were in the arts and humanities; 25 percent of each were in the social sciences (Table 5). Both groups spent slightly more than 50 percent of their time in teacher education (Table 6). Their years of experience teaching in the Pennsylvania State Colleges was almost identical.

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[8]A recurring problem during analysis was the frequent inability to produce significant differences for the AFT and "No Representative" voters when comparable differences involving APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP scores produced significant differences. This lack of significant differences is due to the small n for "No Rep" voters in comparison to the n for APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP, and the conservativeness of the Scheffé analog as a post hoc test. Appropriate conservatism was used in drawing conclusions about the AFT and "No Representative" respondents.

(AAUP mean years = 4.70; AFT mean years = 4.75). Only in their other teaching experiences did AAUP voters particularly differ, with the former more experienced in other colleges and universities, and the latter more experienced in elementary and secondary schools (Tables 9 and 10). This last difference is understandable. As will be noted in a subsequent chapter, the AFT historically has been associated primarily with developments in the lower schools. On the other hand, AAUP tradition lies with faculty members in colleges and universities. It is more difficult to speculate on the similarities between these two blocks of voters, particularly in view of the low vote accumulation and, hence, small representation for the AFT in the election. One might conclude that their common group features led them to reject APSCUF-PAHE, while their uncommon features led them to opt for different associations.

IV

The Bargaining Unit

Determination of an Appropriate Unit

The importance of an appropriate bargaining unit is evident from the attention given to this issue in the Pennsylvania State College election. (Detailed discussion of the events surrounding this determination is presented in Chapter II.) In cases where there is disagreement between them, neither the faculty nor the administration is free to determine the unit definition. The decision is made by the National Labor Relations Board, for private institutions, and by the state labor relations board, for public institutions.

Higher education's experience with the unit determination process has revealed several significant issues.[1] One or more of these issues can be at stake in any unit determination proceedings. Should a multi-campus system be regarded as a single unit, or should each campus be a separate unit? To what extent do full-time faculty share a community of interest with short-term or part-time faculty? Should nonteaching, support professionals be included in a faculty unit? Is there enough of a distinctly separate sharing of interest among certain professional segments of the faculty, e.g. law and medical professors, to warrant establishment of separate bargaining units? Finally, where does the dividing line between management and labor fall? Are department chairmen or heads, or even deans, supervisors representing management, or spokesmen for their faculty colleagues?

The resolution of these issues may have significant bearing upon personnel procedures, faculty governance structures, and curriculum development. The creation of large bargaining units across campuses in state university systems – in which every type of institution from two-year agricultural schools to major universities are

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[1] R. K. Carr and D. K. Van Eyck, *Collective Bargaining Comes to the Campus* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1973).

included in the same unit—and among teaching and nonteaching professionals within institutions has led to a homogenization of both faculty and other professional personnel in higher education institutions.[2] Although the decisions to alter faculty and nonfaculty alliances have been made to a large degree by the national and state labor relations boards, to date no assessment has been made of faculty attitudes about whether to include nonfaculty members in a bargaining unit.

Faculty Attitudes Toward Their Unit

The present study was designed to determine (1) whether members of the Pennsylvania State College faculty bargaining unit agreed or disagreed with the unit definition as prescribed, and (2) whether those who disagreed favored a more inclusive or exclusive unit. Overall, the respondents generally agreed with the definition of the bargaining unit as defined by the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board (see Table 11). Sixty-one and one half percent of all respondents agreed with the definition, while 38.5 percent disagreed. The chi-square analysis of the distribution of respondents by voting behavior did not produce a significant result. Of the twenty-six (50 percent) "No Representative" respondents who disagreed with the definition of the bargaining unit, nine respondents indicated in a subsequent question that they preferred to have the bargaining unit defined as "none." Although not significantly different, the "No Representative" respondents were more likely to disagree with the defined bargaining unit than respondents who voted for the other three options.

The respondents who disagreed with the bargaining unit as defined (n = 435; 38.5 percent) were asked to check from a list of positions those positions which in their estimation should be included in the bargaining unit in addition to full-time tenured faculty members.[3] From the data obtained[4] it was concluded that

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[2]K. P. Mortimer and G. G. Lozier, *Collective Bargaining: Implications for Governance* (University Park, Pa.: Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1972).

[3]In the construction of the questionnaire it was considered to be a foregone conclusion that full-time tenured faculty would be in-

APSCUF-PAHE, AAUP, and AFT respondents who disagreed with the defined bargaining unit were inclined to favor inclusion of part-time faculty, librarians with faculty rank, untenured faculty, and department chairmen. They would exclude librarians without faculty rank. On the other hand, of those positions included in the actual unit as defined, the "No Representative" respondents disagreeing with the unit would retain only untenured faculty members and librarians with faculty rank (excluding part-time faculty, department chairmen, and librarians without faculty rank).

Although it was not possible to list in the questionnaire all existing titles and positions at the Pennsylvania State Colleges, five additional broad categories of positions were provided for consideration by those respondents disagreeing with the defined unit: (a) directors of educational service units (e.g., Directors of Student Teaching, Director of Educational Media); (b) deans or directors of academic divisions; (c) assistant or associate deans or directors of academic divisions; (d) directors of administrative units (e.g., Director of Summer School, Director of Housing); (e) student personnel administrators and counselors. The respondents disagreeing with the bargaining unit tended to favor exclusion of these employees from the bargaining unit In each instance, only approximately one-fifth to one-third of those dissatisfied with the definition of a bargaining unit favored inclusion of a particular category of personnel in the bargaining unit. When combined with the results of these respondents' attitudes toward personnel actually included in the unit, *the conclusion is that disagreement with the unit was indicative of a desire for a less inclusive rather than a more inclusive unit.* However, there were some significant differences between APSCUF-PAHE supporter attitudes and those of AAUP, AFT, and "No Representative" supporters. With 54.1 percent of the APSCUF-PAHE respondents who disagreed with the defined unit favoring inclusion of directors of educational service units, significant statistical contrasts were produced in comparison with the respondents for the other options.

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cluded in any appropriately defined bargaining unit for college or university faculty.

[4]See footnote 6, Chapter III regarding the availability of this data.

A statistically significant greater proportion of APSCUF-PAHE respondents also favored inclusion of deans or directors of academic divisions (29.3 percent) and assistant or associate deans (31.3 percent). (In the latter instances, the only significant contrasts were between APSCUF-PAHE and "No Representative.")

A major issue in the APSCUF-PAHE campaign was the charge that the AAUP deliberately delayed the election from spring 1971 to fall 1971 by filing an unfair labor practice charge against APSCUF-PAHE and the state, as discussed in Chapter II. It is conjecturable that, because of the AAUP objections to a Board hearing which failed to give full consideration to the inclusion of additional professional personnel in the unit, the AAUP supporters might have expressed more strongly than other voters their disagreement with the unit as defined. They did not. There was no significant difference determined in the distribution over the four voting options of those agreeing or disagreeing with the defined unit.

However, by examining the voting behavior of the minority (38.5 percent) who disagreed with the bargaining unit, some significant differences in attitudes about the unit were discovered. The APSCUF-PAHE leadership had agreed to resolve the unit determination issue by accepting a relatively limited unit, while hoping for an early spring election. The results of the present research indicated that of the respondents who disagreed with the adopted unit definition, the APSCUF-PAHE voters were more likely to favor a slightly more inclusive unit! In other words, the APSCUF-PAHE's hasty resolution of the unit issue (as a means to an early election) created a unit with which a sizeable minority of their own supporters were not satisfied, these supporters being desirous of a more inclusive unit. Although the respondents expressing dissatisfaction with the unit were a minority of all respondents, they do suggest the importance of satisfactorily resolving the unit determination issue: 38.5 percent of the bargaining unit is a significant dissident proportion.

V

The Contending Associations

Three national organizations have become the major contenders for representing faculty members in collective bargaining: the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the National Education Association (NEA), and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). While the AFT has had a long-standing commitment to the unionization of teachers, the NEA and AAUP are relative newcomers to the movement. All three groups are currently caught up in what has become an extremely determined drive by some faculty members to unionize.[1] As the three national associations represented in the election for the Pennsylvania State Colleges, a brief discussion is presented of their historical involvement in collective bargaining and their respective positions on some of the issues. Although the NEA and AFT began talks on a proposed merger in the fall of 1973, the following discussion is directed at a description of the associations through 1971, the time of the election being studied.

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

Founded in 1916 and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (AFT) in 1919, the union's major periods of growth were during the thirties, and after World War II. In the preamble to its Constitution, the AFT stated:

> We believe that the schools have failed of their fullest attainment because of undemocratic administration, adherence to tradition, and lack of responsiveness to the needs of the community; and that the teachers must find the remedy, if it is to be found.
>
> We believe that the teacher is one of the most highly productive of workers, and that the best interests of the schools and of the people demand an intimate contact and effective cooperation between the teachers and the other workers of the community --upon whom the future of democracy must depend.[2]

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[1]The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 27, 1973, p. 3.
[2]The College Section of the Teachers Union, *The College*

The AFT's position on collective bargaining and the scope of negotiations has always been clear. Garbarino wrote: "The AFT has always adopted a forthright labor union stance, calling for exclusive recognition, adversary bargaining, third party arbitration, and accepting the possibility of strike action."[3] The clarity of the AFT's position was also obvious to Marmion. He wrote: "The union position is clear. The primary thrust is for increased salaries, better working conditions, the abolition of traditional methods of promotion, tenure, individual salary negotiations, and for salary increments based on a merit formula."[4]

In an article in The *Chronicle of Higher Education* summarizing the "state of the art" for the three national associations, it was suggested that the AFT's major appeal has been its historical commitment to collective bargaining at a time when many university faculties no longer perceive unionism as contrary to professionalism. Because the AFT is not a neophyte to the issues of unionization, the point can be argued that the intricacies of bargaining and contract administration are more likely to be understood and promoted by the national AFT organization and its network of state and local chapters. In addition, the AFT has always been a "teachers only" organization. Administrators have not been permitted membership in the AFT; hence, the AFT has theoretically remained under the direction of its clientele. However, the major appeal of the AFT—its experience with labor concepts and principles—has also been its major weakness. While many faculty members have now accepted unionism, they have remained skeptical of the AFT's affiliation with organized labor in general, with the AFL-CIO in particular, and with AFT's support for the strike.[5] Despite this skeptical attitude, by May 1973, the AFT had achieved bargaining agent status

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Teacher and the Trade Union (New York: Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, 1936), p. 25.

[3]J. W. Garbarino, "Precarious Professors: New Patterns of Representation," *Industrial Relations* 10 (February 1971): 1-20.

[4]H. A. Marmion, "Unions and Higher Education," *Educational Record* 49 (Winter 1968): 44.

[5]The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 10, 1971, pp. 1 and 6.

at sixty-three colleges and universities—eighteen four-year institutions and forty-five two-year institutions.[6]

The National Education Association (NEA)

Doherty and Oberer have stated that the AFT is primarily an employee organization which from the beginning concentrated on conditions of employment.[7] By contrast, they indicated, the National Education Association (NEA), founded in 1857 as the National Teachers Association, has been primarily a professional association. The Association was organized to "elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching, and . . . promote the cause of popular education in the United States."[8]

Prior to 1961, the NEA was opposed to collective negotiations, sanctions, and strikes. The 1962 Representative Assembly of the Association was a turning point for the NEA as it passed its first resolutions on "Professional Negotiations" and "Professional Sanctions."[9] Since 1962, deletions and amendments regarding professional negotiations have been made at every annual meeting, resulting in a substantial change in the Association's position.[10] The nature and extent of this transition prompted Kleingartner to write that the NEA's shift indicated that "professional associations, often accused of structural rigidity and of wearing ideological blinders, do in fact have the capacity to adapt to the changing needs and situations of the professions they represent."[11]

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[6]The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 30, 1973, p. 4.

[7]R. E. Doherty and W. E. Oberer, *Teachers, School Boards and Collective Bargaining: A Changing of the Guard* (Ithaca, N.Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1967).

[8]E. B. Wesley, *NEA: The First Hundred Years* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 23-24.

[9]National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, vol. 100 (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1962).

[10]For a review of the changes made in NEA attitude toward professional negotiations, see J. P. Muir, "The Strike As a Professional Sanction: The Changing Attitude of the National Education Association," *Labor Law Journal* 19 (October 1968): 615-27.

[11]A. Kleingartner, "Professional Associations: An Alternative

Changes have occurred within the internal organization of the NEA as well in 1967. Following the disassociation of the American Association for Higher Education (due in part to the NEA's changed attitudes toward unionization), the Association established the National Faculty Association section for junior and community college faculties. In 1969, two more sections were created for college and university faculty—the National Society of Professors and the National Association for College and University Professors. These sections were incorporated under the National Higher Education Association division of NEA.

As a result of its changing attitude, the NEA has moved into the forefront of educational unionization, and has also become the national leader in terms of both faculty and institutions represented. As of May 1973, NEA affiliates were representing faculty at eighty-six two-year institutions, including the twenty campus Minnesota State Junior College System. NEA affiliates had obtained bargaining status at eighteen four-year institutions, including several multi-campus systems—City University of New York (19), the Pennsylvania State College system (14), the Nebraska State College system (4) and the State University of New York (26).[12]

Kleingartner has suggested that the edge in bargaining status which the NEA currently holds can be explained by three advantages which the professional association has had over the union: (1) the professional association is more "respectable"; (2) the association can offer a broader professional scope, while the union is very limited in scope; and (3) the association already has a clear edge in membership.[13] On the other hand, the biggest problem for the NEA in its college-level organizing activities has been its image as an association for elementary and secondary teachers. The NEA also has had an image problem created by the fact that the NEA support and membership in four-year institutions appears to be concen-

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to Unions?" *Collective Negotiations for Public and Professional Employees*, ed. R. T. Woodsworth and R. B. Peterson (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1969), p. 295.

[12]The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 30, 1973, p. 4.

[13]Kleingartner, "Professional Associations," pp. 299-300.

trated in colleges of education. Furthermore, because the NEA has permitted school principals and other administrators into its membership, the Association has been subject to charges that the NEA is under the control of administrators and not the teachers whom it is committed to represent.

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP)

Since its founding in 1915, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has concentrated its energies and efforts in protecting academic freedom and in developing the occupation of college teaching into a profession closely modeled on medicine and law.[14] For years, the AAUP was the prime defender of academic freedom and faculty rights on campuses throughout the country. Its effectiveness lay in enlisting the cooperation of college and university administrations in amending administrative positions and attitudes toward academic freedom, due process, and faculty participation in institutional governance. Throughout its entire history, and in all its operations, the AAUP has regarded itself as a professional association, and its accomplishments as the results of powers of persuasion and not coercion. While the AAUP, wrote Davis, "has maintained a professional view of professional life, it has constantly applied its principles and its experiences to the situation at hand."[15] Brown noted that with the introduction of collective bargaining into the governance processes of higher education a debate developed within the organization between "those who wish it to continue as primarily a professional organization, and others who wish it to be a militant organization working for economic objectives."[16] Between 1966 and 1972, the AAUP went through a philosophical reassessment similar to that experienced by the NEA between 1962 and 1968.

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[14]W. P. Metzger, "Origins of the Association: An Anniversary Address," *AAUP Bulletin* 51 (Summer 1965): 229-37.

[15]B. H. Davis, "Unions and Higher Education: Another View," *Educational Record* 49 (Spring 1968): 141.

[16]R. C. Brown, "Professors and Unions: The Faculty Senate: An Effective Alternative to Collective Bargaining in Higher Education?" *William and Mary Law Review* 12 (Winter 1970): 280.

Of the three national associations, the AAUP probably has had the most aesthetic appeal to faculty members concerned about their status as professionals.[17] It has the largest college and university *faculty* membership. However, through 1971 the AAUP had three problems which considerably impeded its ability to win elections.

> How does the association retain its commitment to shared authority among all constituents of the academic world in academic governance, while at the same time organizing along the essentially adversarial lines of labor versus management? . . .
>
> How can the association compete with other organizations when it does not admit some non-academic staff members who are part of the bargaining unit? . . .
>
> How can the association preserve its role as arbiter of sensitive issues of academic freedom and tenure and at the same time bargain collectively? . . .

The problem which the AAUP would face in the late 1960s was predicted by Strauss:

> My thesis here is that the AAUP, like many other occupational associations, suffers from a mixture of objectives and a tension between economic goals and those which are more purely professional, even altruistic, in nature.[19]

Noting the limited role of the AAUP on campuses where faculty self-government was well-established, and the increasing role of politicians and budget bureau technicians as educational decision makers, Strauss continued:

> Thus, the trend will be to make the AAUP more like a civil service association—though with a strong emphasis on academic freedom. Where other governmental employees engage in collective bargaining, AAUP chapters will probably engage in collective bargaining, too.[20]

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[17]The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 10, 1971, pp. 1 and 6.

[18]Ibid., p. 6.

[19]George Strauss, "The AAUP as a Professional Occupation Association," *Industrial Relations* 5 (October 1965): 128.

In May 1972, the AAUP acted to counter some of the arguments of its critics. The delegates at the Association's annual convention voted quite decisively to amend the Association's position toward collective bargaining. The revised position stated:

> The Association will pursue collective bargaining as a major additional way of realizing the Association's goals in higher education, and will allocate such resources and staff as are necessary for the vigorous selective development of this activity beyond present levels.[21]

In order to assist development of this new position, the convention voted at the same meeting to amend the article of the Association's Constitution dealing with membership. The following amendment passed: "Any professional appointee included in a collective representation unit with the faculty of an approved institution may also be admitted to Active membership in the Association.[22]

By May 1972, the AAUP had been recognized as the bargaining agent at only ten institutions.[23] Only one year later, following the change in the Association's position on collective bargaining, the number of institutions had doubled to twenty.[24] By October 1973, the AAUP had won several more elections, bringing to twenty-five the number of college and university faculties represented by the Association as exclusive bargaining agent.[25]

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[20]Ibid., pp. 139-40.

[21]Fifty-eighth Annual Meeting, *AAUP Bulletin* 58 (1972): 135.

[22]Ibid., p. 136.

[23]The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 15, 1972, p. 2.

[24]The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 30, 1973, p. 4.

[25]*Higher Education and National Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, October 19, 1973), p. 5.

Several concluding points can be made about these three national associations. First, the changing attitudes of each of the three associations toward collective bargaining have been influenced by each other's activities and successes. The NEA's reversal of position was influenced by AFT successes at the elementary and secondary levels. The AFT's renewed commitment to collective bargaining in higher education was a reaction to NEA achievements in organizing college and university faculties. As the AAUP realized that its role as representative of the professional interests of faculty members in higher education was being challenged by the AFT and the NEA, it, too, made a commitment to this new means of faculty representation.

Historically, the organizational self-concepts have not been the same for the three contending associations. Nevertheless, all three have evolved to a point in which their programs reflect mutual concerns and activities. Indicative of this trend is the merger of the New York State AFT and NEA organizations. This combined association currently represents all faculty in the State University of New York system, the City University of New York system, and the majority of community colleges in New York, plus several private institutions. Despite a moratorium imposed on such mergers by the parent association (NEA), meetings are being held at the national level to discuss the potential of a complete merger of the two groups.

Voting Behavior and the Associations

Before proceeding with the discussion of the results of questionnaire items dealing with the associations, an additional point about the NEA items dealing with the associations should be noted. One of the NEA's major strengths has been its state and local affiliates. APSCUF has been a Pennsylvania State College faculty organization for many years; and, more recently, through its present affiliation with PAHE and PSEA, it became the NEA affiliate for the Pennsylvania State College and University faculty. Because of the individual identities retained by both APSCUF-PAHE and the NEA, personal impressions by State College facul-

ty members of APSCUF-PAHE in this election may reflect attitudes as much toward this local organization as toward the national association.

The questionnaire utilized in this research requested that respondents indicate which of the three associations seeking agency status in the election best exemplified eight characteristics, or descriptors, presented to them. The intent of the question was to ascertain if all faculty held similar attitudes toward the associations regardless of how they voted. Certain assumptions were also made beforehand about which of the national associations best fit each of the descriptors. These assumptions, presented as follows, were based on the review of the literature and history of the associations:

Most prestigious: AAUP
Most union-oriented: AFT
Most professionally-oriented: AAUP
Historical commitment to collective bargaining: AFT
Greatest national visibility: AAUP
Greatest visibility within Pennsylvania: APSCUF-PAHE (NEA)
Least likely to resort to a strike: AAUP
Greatest lobbying potential in Harrisburg: APSCUF-PAHE (NEA)

The results for these eight items are presented in Tables 12-19. For the descriptor "most prestigious" (Table 12), a significant difference existed between the percent of APSCUF-PAHE respondents who indicated that their association was the "most prestigious" (34.5 percent) and the percentage of voters for the other three options (AAUP: 1.6 percent; AFT: 2.3 percent; and "No Representative": 4.2 percent). Better than 95 percent of the respondents for the other three options indicated the AAUP as their choice of "most prestigious," while only 64.3 percent of the APSCUF-PAHE voters felt that way.

Ninety-one and one half percent of all respondents agreed that the AFT was the "most union-oriented" of the associations (Table 13). Concurrently, fewer than 10 percent of the respondents believed that either APSCUF-PAHE (7.7 percent) or AAUP (0.7 percent) was the "most union-oriented" association.

For a majority of respondents the "most professionally-oriented" association (Table 14) was the AAUP (64.4 percent). Once again, significant differences existed between the APSCUF-PAHE respondents and respondents of the other three voting options in the extent to which APSCUF-PAHE was considered the "most professionally-oriented" of the associations. Slightly more than 56 percent of the APSCUF-PAHE respondents indicated that their association was more "professionally-oriented" than was the AAUP.

Sixty-nine and four-tenths percent of the respondents indicated that the AFT was the association "most historically committed to collective bargaining" (Table 15). A significantly larger percent of APSCUF-PAHE voters considered APSCUF-PAHE to be the "most historically committed to collective bargaining" (30.9 percent for APSCUF-PAHE respondents, compared to 13.5, 2.3, and 17.0 percent for AAUP, AFT, and "No Representative" respectively). The difference in the percentage of AAUP respondents and AFT respondents who indicated that APSCUF-PAHE is the "most historically committed to collective bargaining" was also significant. Significant contrasts also revealed that the AFT respondents were more inclined than respondents of the other associations to consider their association, the AFT, to be the "most historically committed" of the associations to collective bargaining (95.5 percent for AFT respondents, compared to 62.9, 76.5, and 76.6 percent for APSCUF-PAHE, AAUP, and "No Representative" respectively).

The greatest diversity in faculty attitudes toward these three associations occurred with the descriptor "greatest national visibility" (Table 16).[26] Overall, the respondents answered as follows: APSCUF-PAHE (26.6 percent); AAUP (54.5 percent); AFT (18.9 percent). A significantly greater percent (36.1) of

[26]One could raise questions about the validity of this item since it may have been affected by the differing bases for answering it. For example, the question could be raised whether this national visibility was intended to be visibility to the general populace, only to educators, or solely to higher education personnel.

APSCUF-PAHE voters (21.1 to 29.8 percentage points greater) considered their association to have had the greatest national visibility. At the same time, a significantly greater percent of AAUP respondents (66.6 percent) and of AFT respondents (43.2 percent) indicated that their particular association had greater national visibility than APSCUF-PAHE (47.9 percent for AAUP and 16.0 percent for AFT).

The greatest percentage of respondents (91.1 percent) indicated that APSCUF-PAHE was the association with the "greatest visibility within Pennsylvania" (Table 17). A significantly greater proportion of APSCUF-PAHE respondents (97.0 percent) than AAUP respondents (81.7 percent) indicated that APSCUF-PAHE was the association with the "greatest visibility within Pennsylvania." Correspondingly, a greater percentage of AAUP respondents believed that either the AAUP (13.0 percent) or the AFT (5.3 percent) had greater visibility within Pennsylvania than did APSCUF-PAHE (1.1 percent for AAUP and 1.9 percent for AFT).

Only four percent of the respondents from each voting category indicated that the AFT was the association "least likely to strike" (Table 18). General opinion from all respondents was that the AAUP was "least likely to strike" (67.6 percent). However, a significantly greater percentage of APSCUF-PAHE respondents (36.6 percent) than AAUP (17.0 percent) or "No Representative" (8.3 percent) respondents indicated that APSCUF-PAHE was the association "least likely to strike." At the same time, a significantly lesser proportion of APSCUF-PAHE respondents (59.1 percent) than AAUP (78.7 percent) or "No Representative" (87.5 percent) respondents indicated that the AAUP was the association "least likely to strike."

The last descriptor presented was "greatest lobbying potential in Harrisburg" (Table 19). Eighty-seven and one half percent of all respondents designated APSCUF-PAHE as most indicative of this descriptor. A significantly greater proportion of APSCUF-PAHE respondents (98.0 percent) than either AAUP (73.0 percent) or AFT (61.4 percent) respondents considered APSCUF-PAHE as

the association with the "greatest lobbying potential." At the same time, a significantly greater proportion of AAUP respondents (12.2 percent) than of either APSCUF-PAHE (0.2 percent) or AFT (0.0 percent) respondents regarded the AAUP as the association with the "greatest lobbying potential." Only one APSCUF-PAHE and no AFT respondents indicated that this descriptor was most indicative of the AAUP.

There was a very high measure of consistency between the respondents' attitudes toward the three associations and the assumptions regarding which associations best exemplified the descriptors. Variations which did occur were created most frequently by faculty members who regarded the association they voted for as more representative of the descriptor than the association identified in the assumptions. In general, the most persistently determined statistical significances produced by the data were between the attitudes of the APSCUF-PAHE respondents and voters favoring the other voting options. It was already noted above that respondents as a whole recognized the three associations participating in the election as they might be perceived from a general knowledge of their history and their professional platforms. Yet a significant proportion of APSCUF-PAHE respondents consistently held different attitudes toward such key descriptors as "most professional," "most prestigious," "historical commitment to collective bargaining," and "greatest national visibility." The differences in these attitudes might be accounted for by any number of reasons, including a misinterpretation by some of the generally accepted images of the associations, a reflection of the campaigns of the associations, a refusal to recognize other associations for what they are, and/or a firm belief in the opinions expressed. Whatever the reason, it is suggested here that these differences in attitudes reflected the eventual difference in the decision of these respondents to vote for APSCUF-PAHE and to award APSCUF-PAHE the victory in the election.

VI

The Scope of Negotiations

The scope of items negotiated and the scope of the contract are not the same. Everything that is negotiated does not necessarily become a part of the agreement. Hence, faculty attitudes toward determining an appropriate scope of negotiations is a significant issue.

The Issues

The American Association for Higher Education report on academic governance noted five broad categories of issues which should be the legitimate concern of the faculty: (1) educational and administrative policies, i.e., shaping the policies by which the mission of the institution is defined and carried out; (2) personnel administration, encompassing promotion and tenure, appointments, course assignments, work schedules, work loads, the allocation of office space, secretarial help, and grievance procedures; (3) economic issues—resource availability, resource allocation to major budgetary categories, distribution of funds for salaries and fringe benefits, and individual compensation; (4) public issues and the institution; and (5) procedures for faculty representation.[1] However, the fact that these have all been issues of legitimate concern to faculty members has not, *a priori*, made them negotiable issues for collective bargaining.

The Pennsylvania Public Employee Relations Act specifies in Article VII, Section 701 that:

> Collective bargaining is the performance of the mutual obligation of the public employer and the representatives of the public employees to meet at

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[1] AAHE-NEA Task Force on Faculty Representation and Academic Negotiations, *Faculty Participation in Academic Governance* (Washington, D.C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1967), pp. 27-30.

reasonable times and confer in good faith with respect to *wages, hours and other terms and conditions of employment* (emphasis added).[2]

This definition of the scope of bargaining is typical of labor legislation. The variability in the way in which the phrase "other terms and conditions of employment" may be interpreted indicates the problem in defining the appropriate scope of negotiations in higher education. The phrase "terms and conditions of employment" is particularly vague and has caused Finkin to write: "The troublesome question is what *is* a term or condition of employment for college and university faculty members."[3] Ray Howe has provided the following answer: "I know of no practical limits upon the negotiability of any items affecting the college. The determination of what is negotiable is itself negotiable."[4]

Ronald Brown has questioned whether there can be a separation of academic from nonacademic issues in higher education negotiations. Brown noted that "There is a somewhat reflexive compulsion to label educational policies as academic issues and economic considerations as nonacademic issues."[5] Although matters of educational policy and academic freedom have been traditionally reserved for existing methods of faculty governance such as faculty senates, there is nothing to preclude them from the negotiating process. Once a bargaining agent has been certified, a process can come into play which absorbs traditional areas of faculty authority into the bargaining process. Ralph Brown described these developments as follows:

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[2]Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, *Laws of the General Assembly*, Act 195—The Pennsylvania Public Employee Relations Act, 1970 (1), Article VII, Section 701.

[3]M. W. Finkin, "Collective Bargaining and University Government," *Wisconisin Law Review* 1971 (No. 1): 133.

[4]S. Elam and M. H. Moskow, eds., *Employment Relations in Higher Education* (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1969), p. 90.

[5]R. C. Brown, "Professors and Unions: The Faculty Senate: An Effective Alternative to Collective Bargaining in Higher Education?" *William and Mary Law Review* 12 (Winter 1970): 320.

> First the matter of salaries is linked to the matter of workload; workload is then related directly to class size, class size to range of offerings, and range of offerings to curricular policy. Dispute over class size may also lead to bargaining over admissions policies. This transmutation of academic policy into employment terms is not inevitable, but it is quite likely to occur.[6]

Is the decision to bargain over academic matters, if they can be distinguished from purely economic issues, an inherent managerial preogative? According to Smith, this is improbable.

> Private sector unions generally do not quarrel with the position that the ability of a private firm to determine such matters as the kind and quality of its products or services is and should remain a managerial prerogative. However, there are some categories of employees in the public sector who, by virtue of the nature of their occupations and professional interests, might claim to have a negotiable concern with the "mission" or goals of particular public agencies. For example, public school teachers may reasonably assert that they have a legitimate interest not only in compensation and "conditions" of employment, but also in the fundamental educational policies to be followed in a school system.[7]

Brown has indicated that typical state enabling legislation has been patterned after the National Labor Relations Act prescribing an obligation to bargain collectively over "wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment." Brown suggested that since the legislation has not chosen to distinguish between inherent managerial rights and other terms and conditions of employment, the matter must ultimately be determined by the courts, except in instances in which management agrees to negotiate on particular issues of supposedly managerial prerogative not required or prohibited by law. Citing a Wisconsin school case in which the courts

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[6]R. S. Brown, Jr., "Collective Bargaining in Higher Education," *Michigan Law Review* 67 (February 1969): 1075.

[7]R. A. Smith, "State and Local Advisory Reports on Public Employment Labor Legislation: A Comparative Analysis," *Michigan Law Review* 67 (March 1969): 908.

determined that the school board had to negotiate over a change in the school calendar, Brown concluded:

> The lesson to be learned from this case is that the courts in all likelihood will not hesitate to define educational policies and other non-mandatory subjects of bargaining by interpreting the terms related to wages, hours, and conditions of employment. A question which remains unanswered is whether, absent legislative specification, courts will interpret the above terms narrowly or broadly in determining the relationship between educational policies and economic conditions; and whether the courts will continue to analogize NLRB cases with those involving teachers and professors.[8]

Because the scope of negotiations is by no means limited nor readily definable, it is an issue to be settled in each set of negotiations. For this study, six broad areas of the scope of negotiations were considered: financial benefits, personnel policy, academic freedom, conditions of employment, faculty participation in governance, and institutional goals determination. The objective for this study was to consider the relationship between faculty voting behavior and their desire for a broad or limited scope of negotiations.

Voting Behavior and the Scope of Negotiations

Three fairly lengthy questions in the survey instrument dealt with the problem of the scope of negotiations. The first question requested respondents to indicate their degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the six broad issues listed above by ranking the issues from one (most satisfied) to six (least satisfied). A second question requested respondents to rank the same six issues as negotiable or nonnegotiable with rankings from one (should be negotiated) to six (should not be negotiated). The third question, presented later in this chapter, dealt with the scope of negotiations.

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[8] R. C. Brown, "Professors and Unions," pp. 325-26.

There was little difference in the satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction of the voters for the various options in the election as indicated by their ranking of the six issues (Table 20). These rankings indicate that the faculty at the state colleges are relatively less satisfied with general financial benefits (3.87) and with the extent of their participation in the affairs of the state colleges [i.e., the determination of institutional mission (4.31), faculty personnel policies (3.82), and faculty participation in governance (3.74)] than with the general conditions of employment (3.04) or with academic freedom (2.22). Although there was some variability in the order in which the respondents of the various voting options ranked these six issues as seen in Table 20, the results of the follow-up analyses presented in Table 21 indicated that for the most part this variability was nonsignificant.[9]

There was more variance in the attitude of all faculty respondents regarding which issues should be negotiated (Table 22) than there was over which issues were providing the faculty with more or less satisfaction. (It should be noted that faculty were asked whether they thought these issues should be negotiated, and not whether they were legally negotiable.) Whereas on the former item there was only about a range of two points (from 2.22 to 4.31) on a six-point scale from the "most satisfied" issue, the rankings for which issues should be negotiated ranged from 1.86 to 4.90. The issue with which all faculty members were most dissatisfied–determination of institutional mission–(was also the issue which was considered least negotiable (4.90). Academic freedom, with which there seemed to be considerable satisfaction, also was generally regarded as nonnegotiable (4.06). Three of the issues–

[9]Evaluation of a forced-choice rank question must be carefully made. In order to force the respondents to discriminate between the six issues, they were asked to rank them from most to least satisfied. However, ranking an item as least satisfying may not in every instance indicate total dissatisfaction with that issue. The relativeness with which distinctions were made between issues with which there was more satisfaction and issues with which there was less satisfaction must be analyzed carefully.

financial benefits (1.86), conditions of employment (2.90), and faculty personnel policies (3.24)—were generally regarded as negotiable. As a whole, there was little discrepancy in the rankings of these issues by the respondents for any of the four voting options (Table 23).

Since in both the satisfaction and negotiability items the order of ranking was so consistently similar for respondents of each of the voting options, the more important factor for these two questions was the overall difference in the satisfaction with the issues and their negotiability. As might be expected, financial benefits, for which more dissatisfaction than satisfaction was expressed, was also the most negotiable issue. At the other end of the scale, academic freedom, for which there was the most satisfaction, was ranked as less negotiable than four of the other five issues. The one striking comparison between these two questionnaire items was with regard to the issue designated as "determination of institutional mission." Respondents were least satisfied with this issue, yet they also regarded it as least negotiable. The significance, or lack thereof, of this contrast was more interpretable from the third questionnaire item dealing with the scope of negotiations. Hence, further discussion of the "determination of institutional mission" issue is temporarily reserved.

In April 1971 the state and the associations agreed to negotiate certain issues locally, i.e., to give special considerations to local conditions at the various state college campuses and to negotiate other issues on a statewide basis, although the state subsequently reneged on this agreement. However, in anticipation that state and local negotiations would occur, faculty were requested to indicate not merely whether subissues of the six broader issues noted above were either negotiable or nonnegotiable, but if negotiable whether bargaining should be conducted statewide or locally. Twenty-three subissues were provided:

A. Financial Benefits
   1. Salary
   2. Fringe benefits

B. Faculty Personnel Policies
   1. Faculty appointment
   2. Promotion
   3. Tenure
   4. Procedures for faculty evaluation
   5. Grievance procedures

C. Academic Freedom
   1. Academic freedom clause

D. Conditions of Employment
   1. Teaching load
   2. Class size
   3. Sabbatical leave
   4. Office space and equipment
   5. Research grants policy
   6. Parking regulations

E. Faculty Participation in Governance
   1. Selection of department chairmen
   2. Selection of deans
   3. Selection of presidents
   4. Committee assignments
   5. Creating and dissolving committees

F. Determination of Institutional Mission
   1. Representation for state master planning
   2. Admissions standards
   3. Institutional orientation (e.g., teacher education, liberal arts, graduate program)

Because of the number of tables involved in presenting the data for these twenty-three items, a more general presentation is provided here.[10]

In terms of their attitudes toward the negotiability of these subissues either locally or statewide, there was little notable difference between the attitudes of APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP voters, with the vast majority of both groups favoring the negotiability of every subissue. The primary difference for AFT respondents was that in very few instances did even one AFT voter believe an issue was nonnegotiable. Only the "No Representative" respondents consistently rejected negotiation for most of the issues listed.

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[10]See Chapter III, footnote 7, about the availability of this data and for a more detailed discussion of the data.

The Pennsylvania State College faculty in general favored a broad scope of negotiations. They also indicated that some of the issues presented should have been negotiated in consideration of local conditions. For example, a majority of respondents voting for one of the three associations indicated that the following issues should be negotiated locally: faculty appointment and promotion, procedures for faculty evaluation, office space and equipment, parking regulations, selection of department chairmen, selection of deans, committee assignments, creating and dissolving committees, curriculum development, and institutional orientation. As noted above, negotiations were conducted during the actual bargaining. The agreement which ultimately was signed between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and APSCUF-PAHE applied equally to all State Colleges, and contained no local provisions.[11]

Of all the subissues presented to questionnaire recipients, only three—parking regulations, committee assignments, and creating and dissolving committees—were thought to be nonnegotiable by more than 20 percent of the respondents; in no case was the response greater than 25 percent. When comparing these responses with the rankings of negotiable issues discussed earlier, it is apparent that those broad issues which were ranked at the nonnegotiable end of the scale in the forced ranking should really be regarded as *less* negotiable rather than as nonnegotiable. Accordingly, the apparent contrast between the lack of satisfaction with the "determination of the institutional mission" of the State Colleges and the negotiability of this issue (see discussion earlier in this chapter) was not as significant as may have at first been interpreted. In the subsequent questionnaire item, all of the institutional mission subissues (admissions standards, curriculum development, representation for state master planning, and institutional orientation) were regarded as negotiable by most of the State College faculty.

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[11] Collective Bargaining Agreement Between APSCUF-PAHE and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, November 2, 1971 to August 31, 1974.

VII

The Strike and Collective Bargaining

Professionalism

For many college and university faculty members, collective bargaining has been regarded as inappropriate when applied to the conduct of faculty-administration relationships. This opinion is founded largely on the belief that the faculty member is a scholar and a professional who has "allegiance to a particular set of beliefs, ideas, and convictions concerning the conditions under which one's work is or should be performed."[1] Central to this concept of professionalism is the faculty member's individual autonomy. This autonomy is derived from the belief that a faculty member's technical knowledge, skills, and experience, as they relate to his academic discipline, should permit him to determine for himself the conditions under which he will work and the problems with which he will deal.[2]

Academic matters, including self-government, are the faculty member's primary concern as a professional. Economic issues, on the other hand, emphasize the employer-employee relationship of faculty members and administrations. Because professionals do not typically regard themselves as employees, many faculty reject collective bargaining and its concentration on economic issues as inappropriate to the decision-making processes of colleges and universities.

The strike has been, perhaps, the one aspect of collective bargaining most offensive to opponents of faculty unionism. It is viewed by some as a shift from professional commitment to competitive power plays.[3] Haehn reported that the belief of many

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[1] R. C. Brown, "Professors and Unions: The Faculty Senate: An Effective Alternative to Collective Bargaining in Higher Education?" *William and Mary Law Review* 12 (Winter 1970): 267.

[2] Sanford Kadish, "The Strike and the Professoriate," *AAUP Bulletin* 54 (Summer 1968): 160-61.

[3] Ibid., p. 164.

California State College faculty that collective bargaining would detract from the professional status of the faculty was related to negative attitudes about the potential use of the strike. With guarantees against the strike, reported Haehn, many fewer faculty saw an inconsistency between unionization and professionalism.[4]

The strike is one means for resolving an impasse between disputing parties. Other sanctions have been utilized by professional and accrediting associations since around the turn of the century. The censure has been the most frequently exercised sanction.

> Censure is, in fact, AAUP's most potent weapon. By publicly denouncing the institution, and relating the facts and circumstances surrounding the serious breach of academic freedom, the association seeks to marshal the forces of public opinion.[5]

Although the censure continues to be the preferred weapon of the associations, their previous rejection of the strike has undergone a dramatic transition over the past ten years, a transition which has paralleled their growing involvement in collective bargaining.

The Associations and the Strike

Prior to 1967, the National Education Association had limited its action against deviant administrations to the exercise of "professional sanctions." In 1967, the Board of Directors of the NEA made an abrupt change in attitude and issued the following statement:

> The National Education Association recommends that every effort be made to avoid the strike as a procedure for the resolution of an impasse.

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[4]J. O. Haehn, *A Survey of Faculty and Administrator Attitudes on Collective Bargaining.* (Academic Senate of the California State Colleges, May 1970).

[5]M. A. Brown, "Collective Bargaining on the Campus: Professors, Associations and Unions," *Labor Law Journal* 21 (1970): 169.

> The NEA recognizes that under conditions of severe stress . . . strikes have occurred and may occur in the future. In such instances the NEA will offer all of the services at its command to the affiliate concerned to help resolve the impasse.[6]

By the following year, a resolution of the "Withdrawal of Services" had been introduced and passed at the annual national meeting of the Association;[7] by 1971, NEA policy on the use of strikes in education had become quite definite. The new policy indicated that, although the Association prefers mediation, fact-finding, arbitration, and political action to resolve impasses:

> [T]he Association realizes that teachers may have no choice but to resort to a withdrawal of services as the only means of attracting public attention to, and correcting conditions in, situations (a) where conditions make it impossible for teachers to provide quality education, (b) where solutions have been proposed but have not been conscientiously explored, and (c) where solutions have been proposed but not consummated. The Association supports efforts by local and state associations to obtain repeal of state laws that prohibit withdrawal of services.[8]

Because of the AFT's long-term affiliation with the labor movement, it traditionally has accepted the "management-employee relationship between governing boards and administrators on the one hand and faculties on the other."[9] Moskow has indicated

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[6]"Resolution on Impasse in Negotiation Situation—Passed by NEA Board of Directors, July 1, 1967," *NEA Journal* 56 (October 1967): 38.

[7]J. D. Muir, "The Strike as a Professional Sanction: The Changing Attitude of the National Education Association," *Labor Law Journal* 19 (October 1968): 624.

[8]National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, vol. 109 (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1971), p. 767.

[9]R. S. Brown, Jr., "Collective Bargaining in Higher Education," *Michigan Law Review* 67 (February 1969): 1069.

that the AFT has actively advocated collective bargaining in education since 1935; however, only since local victories in 1961 in New York City has the national organization actively encouraged all locals to strive for bargaining rights.[10] There is some disagreement over the role the AFT has played in advocating use of the strike. Moskow, again, has noted that prior to 1963, when the National Convention passed a resolution recognizing the right of locals to strike and urged support by the AFL-CIO, "there had been no official [AFT] strike policy even though locals had been supported when they went on strike."[11] Brown, on the other hand, has suggested that the AFT has always viewed collective bargaining without the strike sanction as ineffective.[12] From this latter perspective, the AFT has consistently taken the position that faculties should have the full rights accorded to private sector employees, and that either the strike or the threat of a strike should be used without hesitation when the situation demands it.

In a statement issued in 1968, the AAUP reaffirmed its belief in shared authority and an awareness of the professional obligations of faculty members as the best means for achieving sound administrative relationships.[13] Accordingly, the AAUP maintained that these principles generally rendered the strike an inappropriate mechanism for conflict resolution. However, the statement also revealed that the AAUP's attitude toward the strike had become more flexible.

> It does not follow from these considerations of self-restraint that professors should be under any legal disability to withhold their services.... Furthermore, situations may arise affecting a college or university which so flagrantly violate academic freedom (of students as well as faculty) or the principles of academic government . . . that faculty members may

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[10] M. H. Moskow, *Teachers and Unions* (Philadelphia: Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, Industrial Research Unit, 1966), p. 107.

[11] Ibid., p. 308.

[12] R. C. Brown, "Professors and Unions," pp. 297-98.

[13] "Faculty Participation in Strikes," *AAUP Bulletin* 54 (1968): 155-59.

> feel impelled to express their condemnation by withholding their services, either individually or in concert with others.[14]

On the other hand, the AAUP further indicated that a strike for *personal* interests is contrary to faculty dedication to educational interests and objectives. The AAUP has stated that it "emphatically reject[s] the industrial pattern which holds the strike in routine reserve for use whenever economic negotiations reach an impasse."[15] One observer concluded: "It would seem then, that the AAUP would likely recommend strike action only over academic rather than economic issues."[16]

Strike Legislation

The fact is that most state legislation for public sector employee bargaining prohibits use of the strike by public employees. Several reasons for this anti-strike legislation have been argued and upheld. It has been asserted that strikes by public employees "constitute an impermissable interference with the sovereignty or governmental function of the state."[17] Occasionally, strikes by public employees endanger the health, safety, and welfare of the public at large.[18] Statutes providing for public sector bargaining, including the limited right to strike, were passed in 1970 in both Hawaii and Pennsylvania, and in Oregon in 1973. The Pennsylvania law, under whose jurisdiction the Pennsylvania State Colleges organized, states that:

> If a strike by public employees occurs after the collective bargaining process as set forth in sections 801 and 802 of Article VIII of this act [providing for mediation and fact-finding] have been completely utilized and exhausted, it shall not be prohibited

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[14] Ibid., p. 157.
[15] Ibid., p. 158.
[16] R. C. Brown, "Professors and Unions," p. 297.
[17] Ibid., p. 308.
[18] Ibid.

> unless or until such a strike creates a clear and present danger to the health, safety, or welfare of the public.[19]

To date, no public four-year institution in Pennsylvania has been confronted by a strike, although the provisions in the state statute permitting the strike have been employed several times by community college faculty. Strikes have occurred at colleges and universities, and even more extensively in public elementary and secondary education, in states where the strike has not been legalized. Commenting upon the potential effectiveness of strikes in colleges and universities, the AAHE Task Force on Faculty Participation stated as early as 1967 that: "[w]hile we would be hard-pressed to deny the crucial importance of higher education, few aspects of this activity are so essential in the short run that society would be threatened by their temporary cessation."[20] The Task Force concluded that, although it is to be expected that most faculty members would resist the tendency to strike because of its inconsistency with their self-concept as professionals, "there are no decisive reasons why the faculty should be denied the opportunity to strike, in terms of either society's essential needs or the long-run interests of the institution."[21]

In contrast with the 1960s, higher education has entered an era of financial stringency. The financial resources, which increased exponentially with rising enrollments in the previous decade, are currently in competition with demands upon the public dollar for welfare, social reform, health programs, and programs for the aged. Though retaining their self-concept as professionals, faculty members are necessarily becoming more concerned with

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[19]Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Laws of the General Assembly, Act 195—The Pennsylvania Public Employee Relations Act, 1970 (1) Article X, Section 1003.

[20]AAHE-NEA Task Force on Faculty Representation and Academic Negotiations, *Faculty Participation in Academic Governance* (Washington, D.C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1967), p. 51.

[21]Ibid., p. 52.

their personal interests and economic welfare. In view of fiscal developments, the changing positions of the national education associations as faculty organizers, and the growing trend by teachers in public schools to resort to the strike, with or without permissive strike legislation, it seems reasonable to assume that there will be greater acceptance of the strike by college and university faculty members.

Voting Behavior and the Strike

In the questionnaire sent to a sample of the electorate in the Pennsylvania State Colleges bargaining agent election, an item was presented listing four alternative statements on the appropriateness or inappropriateness of the strike in colleges and universities. Respondents were requested to rank order these four statements from that statement with which they most agreed to the one with which they had least agreement. The four statements and the results of the rankings are presented in Table 24.

Pennsylvania State College faculty do not regard the strike as necessarily unprofessional or as an inappropriate mechanism for impasse resolution. Grouped together, respondents expressed the attitude that (a) though the strike is generally undesirable and should be averted in most instances, (b) it may be an appropriate sanction after other legal recourse has failed to resolve grievances (ranked respectively at 1.71 and 1.99). There was considerably less agreement with the attitude that the strike is unprofessional and should not be employed by faculty members under any circumstances (mean rank = 2.77). However, although the Pennsylvania State College faculty accepted the position that the strike may be appropriate at certain times, they were in least agreement with the opinion that there may be occasions when extreme and irresolvable differences make the strike acceptable, even before resorting to other legal recourses as required by Pennsylvania law (mean rank = 3.54).

There were no significant differences in the rankings of the four strike statements by APSCUF-PAHE respondents and AAUP respondents (Table 25), as the attitudes of these two groups of respondents were consistent with the attitudes expressed by the rankings of all respondents combined. Respondents who were opposed to collective bargaining ("No Representative") concurred with the most-agreed-with and least-agreed-with rankings of AAUP and APSCUF-PAHE. However, "No Representative" supporters were significantly more in agreement with the statement that under no circumstances should faculty members withhold their services ("No Representatives" mean rank = 1.98). It follows that these same respondents were less in agreement with the attitude that the strike may be appropriate following use of other legal recourse ("No Representative" mean rank = 2.57).

AFT respondents demonstrated the greatest deviation from the attitudes of Pennsylvania State College faculty as a whole. All four AFT rankings were significantly different from the rankings of the other respondents (Table 25). With near unanimity (AFT mean rank = 1.12), AFT respondents recognized the strike as appropriate when other legal recourse had been ineffective. Few AFT respondents apparently agreed that the strike is an unprofessional and impossible alternative (AFT mean rank = 3.76). Rather, AFT respondents were more in agreement (AFT mean rank = 2.79) that, despite legal prohibitions, faculty should strike when extreme and irresolvable differences had arisen.

The results of this item indicated that Pennsylvania State College faculty attitudes toward the strike were fairly consistent with the official positions taken by the three national associations. The vast majority of State College faculty regard themselves as professionals and would be reluctant to utilize the strike, yet realize that occasions may arise when the strike would be an appropriate sanction. Quite predictably, those faculty who opposed collective bargaining ("No Representative" voters) were equally opposed to the strike. And, conversely, the most labor-oriented faculty (AFT supporters) were in least agreement with the opinion that the strike was never a possible alternative for college and university faculty.

These data suggest that there is a correlation between the official positions of the three national associations and faculty attitudes toward the strike. Whether faculty attitudes merely reflect the changing positions of the associations, or are instrumental in creating them, however, is not clear. If the Pennsylvania State College faculty attitudes are indicative of the broader populace of the higher education faculty, it may be that the strike is no longer regarded as an unprofessional activity, or at least a sufficient reason to reject unionism. As more states introduce public sector labor legislation and as more faculty are granted the legal right to strike, the potential for strikes by college and university faculties will become much greater.

VIII

Governance and Collective Bargaining

Shared Authority

The AAHE-NEA report on *Faculty Participation in Academic Governance* stated that shared authority is the middle zone of an authority continuum ranging from administrative dominance at the one end of the continuum to faculty dominance at the other end.[1] Within the continuum, there is a range of options by which to achieve shared authority between various college and university constituencies.[2]

The first is a joint participation in decision making in which full consultation and cooperation among all constituents is the norm. Under a joint participation model, faculty, administrators, students, and others all participate in formulating policy alternatives. This could be accomplished through committees where all these constituencies are represented or in university-wide councils.

A second option under the term shared authority is separate jurisdictions. This option requires differentiation of decisions that are most clearly within the concern, competence, and responsibility of one constituency. Hence, some matters of specific concern may be decided by one or two constituencies independent of others, while matters of mutual concern might still be decided through joint participation of faculty, administrators, and students.

A third option in a shared authority system of governance is collective bargaining. Each party agrees to negotiate in good

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[1]AAHE-NEA Task Force on Faculty Representation and Academic Negotiations, *Faculty Participation in Academic Governance* (Washington, D. C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1967), pp. 15-16.

[2]Parts of the following discussion are summarized from K. P. Mortimer, "Forms of Campus Governance: Joint Participation, Separate Jurisdictions and Collective Bargaining," (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Colleges, January 16, 1973).

faith and eventually to sign a legally-binding agreement. Each party has veto power over the proposals of the other and will normally agree on a formal procedure to resolve future disputes on matters within the scope of the contract.

According to Lyman Glenny, adoption of traditional forms of sharing authority, the academic senate, for example, has been predicated on the assumption by faculty members "that the top administrators, especially the president and the governing board, have the power, the authority, and the means at their disposal to command policy and achieve the desirable ends."[3] Glenny suggested that this is a mistaken assumption, for it has failed to recognize what he has termed the "anonymous leaders" of contemporary higher education. With these "leaders" located both inside and outside an institution, several very significant influences have developed, particularly at the state level. "Within the state, of all the outside forces operating on the institutions, limiting their autonomy and the policy powers of their leaders, most debilitating are the new statewide coordinating boards and the state budget offices."[4] Personnel employed by these boards and budget offices have normally been appointed by the state's governor and have been accountable to him. They have controlled a wealth of information about these institutions, the dissemination of this information, and the distribution of many of the state's funds for higher education. Glenny continued:

> Moreover, as legislators try to regain power from the governors, legislative budget review agencies composed of fiscal analysts are increasingly found to be duplicating, in part or entirely, the reviews already made by the executive budget personnel or the reviews of the coordinating boards.[5]

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[3]L. A. Glenny, "The Anonymous Leaders of Higher Education," The *Journal of Higher Education* 43 (1971): 9.

[4]Ibid., p. 17.

[5]Ibid., p. 19.

With so much of the power and authority over institutions of higher education usurped from presidents and boards of trustees by the civil servants and professional staff of state legislatures, coordinating boards, and state budget offices, it has become clear that the issue of sharing the power and authority over the policies and welfare of the institution has gone beyond the internal personnel or mechanisms of the institution.

It may be appropriate to conclude, therefore, that the decision by many faculty members to adopt collective bargaining as a model for sharing authority has been a direct result of a shift in the balance of power and influence away from institutions toward external constituencies. Mounting pressures upon higher education beginning in the latter half of the 1960s—including legislative action on faculty salaries and teaching loads, a shift in priorities to other types of social expenditures, and regulation by the courts in matters of campus disruptions and faculty appointments and tenure—have challenged traditional forms of faculty governance. Confronted by what has appeared to some as a disintegration of other forms of shared authority such as joint participation and separate jurisdictions, many faculty members have sought new means to share authority with those agencies presently making the critical decisions in higher education. Collective bargaining has received prime consideration in this search.

Internal Versus External Governance Structures

The extent to which faculty members have perceived various external agencies as having usurped traditional powers and authority from within the university may have influenced their attitudes toward the acceptance or rejection of collective bargaining as a means for sharing decision-making authority about institutional policy and affairs directly affecting a faculty member's employment. The present research sought to determine if the Pennsylvania State College faculty adopted collective bargaining as a countervailing force to the administrations of their particular institutions or to the remote authorities of state government.

Six statements were prepared to reflect faculty concern about the control of faculty affairs by varying levels of State College and University governance. Three of these statements deal with internal mechanisms of institutional governance, e.g., the college's administration, board of trustees, and faculty senate. The other three statements deal with state-level concerns, the state legislature, or state government. Respondents to the questionnaire were requested to rank the six statements according to the degree to which each statement expressed the extent of influence which that issue had upon their choice of a representative in the collective bargaining election. Rankings were from one through six, with one being the most influential issue on a respondent's vote, and six the least influential. The results of these rankings are presented in Tables 26 and 27.

The Pennsylvania State College faculty were more influenced in their vote by the existence of strong external controls than by dissatisfaction with their present institutional administrations. Generally, the respondents participating in the election felt that collective bargaining would provide the faculty of the state-owned colleges with needed representation and influence at the state level. Although this finding was generally representative of the voters for APSCUF-PAHE, AAUP, and AFT, subtle significant differences were revealed in responses from the three groups and the "No Representative" voters. As compared to the other three voting groups, AAUP respondents seemed to be located in a moderate or neutral position for all six statements. (The mean ranks for AAUP ranged from 2.59 to 4.29, compared to 1.65 to 4.75 for APSCUF-PAHE, 2.41 to 4.97 for AFT, and 1.44 to 5.06 for "No Representative.") Because each ranked score is dependent upon the scores of the other five statements, greater variability in the rankings for all six statements by AAUP respondents seems to have created a tendency for less variability for the mean scores for the individual statements. This indicates that AAUP voters were less consistent as a group in recognizing external authority as an influence upon their vote than APSCUF-PAHE and AFT voters. One could speculate that AAUP respondents believed there were matters of concern

to the State College faculty which only state government could resolve, and others which needed to be negotiated with their college administrations.

APSCUF-PAHE, on the other hand, received its support from faculty members who were first seeking an association to "represent their interests in the state legislature and state government" (from the open-ended statements reported on in Chapter II). The APSCUF-PAHE voters' very high ranking of this statement (1.65, where 1.0 indicated the statement most influential upon the individual's vote) was significantly higher than the mean ranks for the other three groups of voters (Table 27). APSCUF-PAHE, along with its parent association the Pennsylvania State Education Association (PSEA), was recognized by many faculty members as an effective lobbyist in the state capitol. Accordingly, APSCUF-PAHE respondents voted for what they recognized as the association with the most powerful political "clout" in Harrisburg.

Consistent with their vote, "No Representative" respondents indicated that alternatives to collective bargaining were more desirable to promote faculty participation in institutional governance. The statement dealing with seeking alternatives to collective bargaining received a mean rank of 1.44 from the "No Representative" respondents. In contrast, AFT voters produced a 4.97 mean rank for the same statement. The results from this item and from the open-ended statements reported in Chapter II indicated that for AFT supporters only a "real union" could produce the desired goals for the Pennsylvania State College faculty. AFT supporters suggested that they had little sympathy or faith in traditional modes of faculty governance; they regard senates, and even APSCUF-PAHE, as more indicative of "company unions" than as effective negotiators for the State College faculty.

Besides rejecting alternatives to collective bargaining, the AFT respondents were more inclined than the other groups to support their association's efforts to lessen the authority of administrative staff in faculty affairs and to promote presidential and trustee response to faculty welfare and needs. More than the

supporters of APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP, AFT voters viewed the adoption of collective bargaining as a governance process to counter institutional authority and the authority which state government has attained in the affairs of the Pennsylvania State Colleges.

IX

Conclusions

Alternative Voting Behavior

Proponents of collective bargaining have frequently argued during election campaigns that a vote for "No Representative" is a wasted vote. In the survey instrument for this study, two items attempted to assess the effect upon the election of the failure of voters to vote for one of the *two* options on the ballot which seemingly had little or no chance of winning the election (AFT and "No Representative"). Before proceeding with further discussion of study results and conclusions, a report on these two items will be made.

Since the contest in the election was primarily between APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP, respondents were asked to indicate whether they would have voted for the "No Representative" option or the AFT option if they thought it had a reasonable chance of winning the election. Seventy-five and eighty-two questionnaire respondents who voted for APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP, respectively, indicated that they would have voted for the "No Representative" option if they had thought it had a chance to win. Another fifty-one respondents each from APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP indicated that they would have voted for the AFT. Had the above respondents voted as they suggested, the APSCUF-PAHE majority would have been reduced to 52 percent. When it is considered that the 126 APSCUF-PAHE respondents who might have voted differently were from a sample representing approximately 30 percent of the total electorate, it is conceivable that as many as 400 of the 2009 APSCUF-PAHE voters might have voted differently if the AFT and "No Representative" options were believed to have a better chance of winning the election. In that event, APSCUF-PAHE would have received about 45 percent of the ballots cast, less than 50 percent plus one required to win the election. A runoff election would have been necessary. Apparently the strategy of arguing that a "No Representative" or AFT vote was useless was successful in achieving a first ballot victory for APSCUF-PAHE.

Discussion of Results

In each of the previous chapters, some fairly specific observations about the survey results are presented. This section relates more generalized conclusions and impressions. In some instances these conclusions are confirmed by the data, while in others the conclusions are conjectures stimulated by the survey data.

Alden Dunham, in his book *Colleges of the Forgotten Americans*, noted that one feature of the transition from state teacher's college to state college or emerging university is a division in the faculty between the new breed and the old guard.[1] In many of these institutions, the old guard faculty have found themselves protecting the teacher education function of the institution against the new faculty who have shown "more concern for and knowledge about their disciplines and colleagues within that discipline at other institutions than about their own institution and colleagues in other departments on their own campus."[2] This dichotomy was apparent in the voting behavior of the Pennsylvania State College faculty. There were significant differences in the composite profiles of APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP supporters, differences which reflect the transition of these institutions from teachers colleges to colleges with a broader curriculum and mission. For example, APSCUF-PAHE supporters were more likely to hold tenure and more likely to be trained in education. (Forty-three and one half percent of all APSCUF-PAHE respondents had their academic appointments in education.) APSCUF-PAHE voters were also more involved than AAUP supporters in teacher education. Career-wise, APSCUF-PAHE respondents indicated that

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[1] E. A. Dunham, *Colleges of the Forgotten Americans: A Profile of State Colleges and Regional Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1969)

[2] Ibid., p. 48.

they had served longer at institutions which reflected an emphasis upon elementary or secondary education. They had significantly more experience teaching in elementary and/or secondary schools. They had served significantly longer both at their present state college and at one or more of the Pennsylvania State Colleges. At the same time, they had the least amount of experience teaching in higher education institutions outside the Pennsylvania State Colleges.

The AAUP, on the other hand, received its support from faculty more likely to be appointed in the arts, humanities, and the social sciences. They were younger and had less teaching experience in the Pennsylvania State Colleges, yet they had considerably more experience teaching in non-state college institutions of higher education.

When viewed together, these distinguishing characteristics—academic discipline, teacher education, tenure, teaching experience, and age—led to the conclusion that the support for APSCUF-PAHE came from those faculty who were more cognizant of and had closer ties to traditions of the state colleges as *teachers'* colleges In their own campaign literature, APSCUF-PAHE supporters identified themselves as "the Young Turks of 1948." This seems a realistic expression of the historical development of the Pennsylvania State Colleges. AAUP supporters, on the other hand, expressed a frustration with the traditional emphasis of the colleges to teacher education, tended to deny this past, and looked for greater visibility on the national higher education scene. The two views as expressed by APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP supporters indicated that there was a relationship between attitudes about the historical developments of the Pennsylvania State Colleges and the collective bargaining agent election.

The definition of the Pennsylvania State College faculty bargaining unit was not determined during full hearings before the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board. Instead, informal efforts were made to resolve differences between the contending associations and the administrations of the colleges. These meetings were held in the offices of the Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth in April 1971. The issue was whether or not to include

department chairmen and nonteaching professionals in the bargaining unit. At one of these sessions the parties agreed to include only department chairmen and proceed with an election in May. On the following day, the AAUP filed an unfair labor practice charge with the Labor Relations Board charging collusion between the Commonwealth and APSCUF. In their formal charge, the AAUP contended that the issue of whether or not to include nonteaching professionals had never been thoroughly discussed or resolved, and that APSCUF-PAHE, in its desire for an early spring election, prematurely ended discussion on the bargaining unit definition. APSCUF-PAHE countered with a charge that the AAUP was employing the unfair labor practice charge as a means to delay the election and provide AAUP with more campaign time.

The AAUP withdrew its charge in July 1971, but there probably is still disagreement between the two associations about the interpretation of these events. The major point is, however, that the series of events in April 1971 became major issues in the election campaign as presented in the AAUP and APSCUF-PAHE campaign literature. Yet, survey data revealed that the faculty members themselves did not regard these charges and countercharges as significant factors in the campaign. Several interpretations could be made of this finding. For example, one could speculate that the campaign strategy of APSCUF-PAHE was designed to maintain their image as an upright organization and dispel impressions that they were responsible for unprofessional behavior. Their election victory could be an indication of the success of such a strategy. It is also possible that while the central office campaign materials of the associations focused on these issues, the local campus organizations were concentrating their discussions on other issues. Nevertheless, in this particular case, it appears that a major issue for the central association campaign was not the basis for the selection of a bargaining agent. Applied more broadly to elections in general, the financial and personal efforts poured into many election campaigns frequently have been devoted to beating around issues which have merited little weighty consideration by the electorate. The real issue in the Pennsylvania State College

election was faculty attitudes about the nature of the institutions themselves and association congruence with these attitudes. The great majority of the faculty voted according to two differing perspectives of the Colleges—a regional and historical view versus a national perspective with aspirations toward attaining greater academic recognition.

It was suggested earlier in this chapter that there appeared to be a relationship between these two perspectives of the State Colleges and the faculty who supported APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP. The affiliation of APSCUF-PAHE with a national association, in this instance the NEA, was not as apparent as the affiliation of the local AAUP with its national counterpart. APSCUF was founded in the Pennsylvania State Colleges and for the State College faculty before establishing affiliation with either a state or national association. (A parallel situation occurred in the original elections for bargaining units at the City University of New York where the "old guard" organization, the Legislative Conference, was an established local association which only later became affiliated with the NEA.) This unique character of APSCUF-PAHE, which distinguished it from the other two national associations participating in the election, also seemed to have influenced faculty attitudes about the three organizations. The results of the data from this study dealing with faculty attitudes toward the associations suggested that, in the broadest sense, the Pennsylvania State College faculty, regardless of voting behavior, agreed with generally recognized descriptors of the three associations. Accordingly, the majority of AAUP, AFT, and APSCUF-PAHE voters each described the AAUP as "most prestigious" and the AFT as having the most "historical commitment to collective bargaining." One could conclude, therefore, that the images of the associations by the Pennsylvania State College faculty are reasonably consistent with statewide or national perspectives. However, the second and perhaps more relevant conclusion would be that the difference in the election results, primarily APSCUF-PAHE's victory over AAUP, was the percentage of voters who disagreed with or disregarded these generally accepted notions about the associations. Differences in the data which were significant indi-

cated that an important contingent of State College faculty regarded APSCUF-PAHE, not AAUP or AFT, as "most professionally-oriented," "most prestigious," and as having the greatest "historical commitment to collective bargaining."

One of the impacts of collective bargaining has been its homogenization of higher education.[3] This homogenization occurs in two ways: (1) across institutions in large state systems, where every type of institution from two-year agricultural schools to major universities are included in the same units, and (2) within institutions where both teaching and nonteaching professionals are included in the same bargaining unit. An agreement was made prior to the Pennsylvania State Colleges election between the Commonwealth and the contending associations to negotiate some phases of a contract statewide, and others on a local basis. Accordingly, the questionnaire inquired whether a list of twenty-three potential bargaining issues should or should not be negotiated, and, if so, whether statewide or locally. Among the issues which faculty believed would be more appropriately negotiated locally (at the individual campuses) were faculty appointment and promotion, office space and equipment, curriculum development, and selection of deans, department chairmen, and committees. However, as was noted in Chapter 2, the state negotiators reneged on the agreement to conduct some local negotiations, with the result that no local provisions were negotiated into the contract. Although the Pennsylvania State Colleges are an integrated system, each college is an identifiable, separate entity. One could speculate that the faculty, by agreeing to some local negotiation, may be expressing a desire to maintain some individuality about their respective campuses. Statewide negotiations were a Commonwealth decision. More recently, the staff of APSCUF-PAHE has drafted legislation

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[3]K. P. Mortimer and G. G. Lozier, *Collective Bargaining: Implications for Governance* (University Park, Pa.: Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1972); and K. P. Mortimer and G. G. Lozier, "Contracts of Four-Year Institutions," *Faculty Unions and Collective Bargaining*, E. D. Duryea, R. S. Fisk, & Associates (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973).

to create one institution with fourteen campuses. One rationale behind the legislation is the promotion of negotiations applicable to all campuses within the system. In several respects, then, it is apparent that the collective bargaining experience in the Pennsylvania State Colleges is continuing evidence of the homogenizing effect of unionization.

A second general finding about the scope of negotiations is that the dichotomy which existed betweeh AAUP and APSCUF-PAHE supporters within the Pennsylvania State College faculty was less pronounced on the issue of the desirable scope of negotiations. The Pennsylvania State College faculty were essentially of one mind in their opinion that *everything*, from salaries, to curriculum, to tenure and promotion, should be negotiated in an agreement for their colleges.

Faculty attitudes about the appropriateness of the strike as a sanction to be used by colleges and university faculty were consistent with the positions of the national associations and state law. Only the "No Representative" respondents rejected the strike completely. APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP respondents regarded the strike as a "last resort" sanction as provided for by Act 195. Although preferring to utilize the strike within this context, AFT respondents indicated that there may be instances in which extreme and irresolvable differences could lead to a strike before efforts at mediation or fact-finding are completed. The incidence of strikes in education in the past decade suggests that the attitude expressed by AFT supporters may be closer to reality. Strikes, even in higher education, have occurred with and without legal sanction.

It has been widely speculated that the movement toward the collectivization of faculty through collective bargaining has been in part a result of the centralization of decision-making authority into state boards of higher education, state governments, and state legislatures. The present study has provided further evidence in support of this premise. Except for the small faction of "No Representative" voters, the vast majority of the faculty of the State Colleges supported collective bargaining as a means to promote their interests in the legislative and administrative

chambers of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Collective bargaining has increased the pressure upon governments to make appropriations for public sector employees in line with salary and fringe increases provided in the agreements. Whether legislatures actually approve funds adequate to cover the arguments is another question.

Summary of Conclusions

The major conclusions of this study may be summarized as follows:

1. There are two general categories of faculty in the Pennsylvania State Colleges. The approximate sizes of these groups were reflected by the level of support given to the two major contenders in the bargaining agent election..
2. Considerable time and money was expended upon a campaign which concentrated upon issues of more concern to the associations' central offices than to the Pennsylvania State College faculty, and which probably had little if any bearing upon the election results. If there are to be election campaigns, contending associations would be wiser to develop a better understanding of the issues of most concern to the faculty.
3. Pennsylvania State College faculty attitudes on the whole were consistent with generally held perceptions about the major associations contending for representation. The significant percentage who either disagreed with, rejected, or ignored these generally accepted notions produced the electoral balance which favored APSCUF-PAHE.
4. The majority of State College faculty did not reject outright the use of the strike by college and university faculty. Though not considered the most desirable sanction, there may be times when the strike is appropriate and necessary.
5. While there were significant differences in both voting behavior and attitudes about the associations, the extent of agreement among the great majority of State College faculty about the desirability of negotiating a broad

range of issues indicated that the division between the two dominant groups of State College faculty had little impact on the scope of negotiations issue. On this issue, the State College faculty were primarily of one mind.

6. This one-mindedness was also apparent with respect to faculty attitudes about collective bargaining as a means to counter state control over the State Colleges.
7. One of the substantial impacts of collective bargaining in colleges and universities may be greater homogenization of faculty.
8. More colleges and university faculty may favor "No Representation" than election results have revealed. In the case of the Pennsylvania State Colleges, association strategy arguing the futility of a "No Representative" vote was apparently successful.

Observers of higher education on the national scene have suggested that faculty members in favor of collective bargaining at colleges and universities are going to be the younger, untenured, least experienced faculty. However, in the context of an actual election, this is too simplistic an hypothesis. Within the Pennsylvania State Colleges, the more significant factors were found to be the academic atmosphere of the institution, its history and traditions, and the nature of ties between the institution and its faculty. Faculty perceptions of these factors, and the relationship of these factors to the contending associations, influence faculty voting behavior. In the Pennsylvania State Colleges, two groups of faculty emerged with two dramatically different interpretations of the prevailing nature of these institutions. Each group had a different view of the Pennsylvania State Colleges, each had a different emotional attachment to these institutions, and each was in favor of a different representative association.

Appendix A:

Tables 2-27; 29-30

TABLE 2
FACULTY REASONS FOR VOTING BEHAVIOR AND FACULTY AWARENESS OF CAMPAIGN ISSUES AND PROMISES BY VOTING BEHAVIOR

Comments:	APSCUF-PAHE (n = 579) %	AAUP (n = 330) %	AFT (n = 36) %	No Rep (n = 55) %
Reasons for Vote:				
1. Best association for me and the State Colleges; the most effective and strongest association; it can do the most.	36.3	7.8	–	–
2. A member of the association.	5.0	4.2	–	–
3. Since forced to have a representative, this association is the least of three evils.	5.7	9.7	–	–
4. Association has a good "track record": recognized gains and successes, experienced in bargaining, proven ability. (AFT – a real union.)	18.1	15.5	50.0	–
5. Most professional association, and most likely to maintain professional outlook.	6.7	42.4	–	–
6. Association has the most power, influences, and resources, most political clout in Harrisburg.	35.4	2.1	–	–
7. Other organizations ineffectual and/or disinterested, don't know real issues, possess poor leadership, unprofessional, and too political.	4.8	10.9	30.6	14.5

TABLE 2 (Cont.)

Comments:	APSCUF-PAHE (n = 579) %	AAUP (n = 330) %	AFT (n = 36) %	No Rep (n = 55) %
Reasons for Vote:				
8. Knows the needs of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania State Colleges; a state organization.	13.5	–	–	–
9. Need for a national organization, not state, with national image and prestige, not provincial.	–	16.7	–	–
10. Knows higher education, hence best to represent higher education. (AAUP – as opposed to elementary and secondary education.)	3.1	33.9	–	–
11. APSCUF-PAHE is a "company union."	–	3.3	19.4	–
12. AFT discussed viable issues; they "made sense."	–	–	13.9	–
13. An organization for faculty, exclusive of administrators.	–	–	13.9	–
14. Dislike for unions, collective bargaining, and organized confrontation.	–	–	–	27.3
15. "Unions" unprofessional, not for college faculty.	–	–	–	29.1
16. Concern for personal freedom, individuality, and individual initiative.	–	–	–	34.5
17. Favor quality over quantity education; have concern for students.	–	–	–	9.1

TABLE 2 (Cont.)

Comments:	APSCUF-PAHE (n = 579) %	AAUP (n = 330) %	AFT (n = 36) %	No Rep (n = 55) %
Campaign Issues and Promises:				
18. Salary and fringe benefits.	22.1	21.2	50.0	18.2
19. Personnel policy, e.g. promotion and tenure.	3.6	5.4	5.5	–
20. Working, teaching conditions.	3.8	2.6	16.7	–
21. Academic freedom.	3.6	14.2	–	–
22. Which organization could "deliver the goods," be the most effective bargainer in Harrisburg.	23.0	21.2	13.9	25.4
23. Faculty participation in governance. (No Rep – faculty-administrative polarization.)	3.3	6.7	16.7	7.3
24. Need for local campus representation; which association would provide this attention.	2.8	3.3	–	7.3
25. Campaign promises ridiculous, untenable, irrational, much of campaign consisted of name calling.	6.4	12.4	–	30.9
26. AAUP's delay tactics.	3.4	0.3	–	–
27. AAUP's promise of a 50% raise.	2.8	0.6	–	–
28. Liberal arts vs. education; college professors vs. school teachers; academic scholarship vs. teacher training; new faculty vs. old guard.	0.7	17.9	–	–
29. To unionize or not to unionize, professionalism vs. unionization.	6.0	22.3	–	21.9
30. Threat of strike by another association.	3.8	3.9	–	–

TABLE 3
CROSSTABULATION OF FACULTY VOTING BEHAVIOR AND TENURE

Voting Behavior	Tenure: Yes		Tenure: No		Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
APSCUF-PAHE	455	69.3	202	30.7	657	100.0
AAUP	233	61.2	148	38.8	381	100.0
AFT	29	65.9	15	34.1	44	100.0
No Rep	26	47.3	29	52.7	55	100.0
Column Total	743	65.3	394	34.7	1137	100.0

$\chi^2 = 15.33$, df = 3
p = 0.0016.

TABLE 4
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
MEAN AGES BY FACULTY VOTING BEHAVIOR

Voting Behavior	Mean Age
APSCUF-PAHE	42.585
AAUP	40.765
AFT	38.455
No Rep	40.055
All Respondents	41.689

Source	Mean Square	DF	F-ratio	p
Between Groups	481.99	3	5.199	0.001
Within Groups	92.70	1116		

TABLE 5
CROSSTABULATION OF FACULTY VOTING BEHAVIOR AND ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT

Voting Behavior	Academic Department: Arts & Humanities		Education		Social Sciences		Business		Sciences		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
APSCUF-PAHE	181	27.5	286	43.5	60	9.1	19	2.9	112	17.0	658	100.0
AAUP	167	43.8	36	9.4	91	23.9	7	1.8	80	21.0	381	100.0
AFT	20	45.5	7	15.9	11	25.0	0	0	6	13.6	44	100.0
No Rep	19	33.9	7	12.5	8	14.3	1	1.8	21	37.5	56	100.0
Column Total	387	34.0	336	29.5	170	14.9	27	2.4	219	19.2	1139	100.0

$X^2 = 177.782$, df = 12
$p<0.001$.

TABLE 6
CROSSTABULATION OF FACULTY VOTING BEHAVIOR
AND TIME DEVOTED TO TEACHER EDUCATION

Voting Behavior	Teacher Education: None		1-25%		26-50%		51-75%		75% up		Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
APSCUF-PAHE	23	3.5	54	8.2	88	13.4	340	23.0	340	51.8	656	100.0
AAUP	27	7.1	50	15.7	79	20.7	97	31.0	97	25.5	381	100.0
AFT	1	2.3	8	18.2	11	25.0	14	22.7	14	31.8	44	100.0
No Rep	4	7.1	6	10.7	14	25.0	18	25.0	18	32.1	56	100.0
Column Total	55	4.8	128	11.3	192	16.9	293	25.8	469	41.2	1137	100.0

$\chi^2 = 82.576$, df = 12
$p < 0.001$.

TABLE 7
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MEAN YEARS OF SERVICE AT PRESENT COLLEGE BY FACULTY VOTING BEHAVIOR

Voting Behavior	Mean Years
APSCUF-PAHE	6.55
AAUP	4.70
AFT	4.59
No Rep	4.18
All Respondents	5.73

Source	Mean Square	DF	F-ratio	p
Between Groups	343.28	3	13.975	0.00[a]
Within Groups	24.56	1131		

[a]Bartlett's test for homogeneous variances significant: $F'^{*} = 15.8294$ $p<0.001$.

*One of the assumptions for computing an analysis of variance F-ratio is the hypothesis of homogeneous population variances. The analysis of variance program used in this research (Analysis of Variance [ANOVES/ANOVUM]: A Statistical Package Program, University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Computation Cetner, 1971) conducted a Bartlett's test for homogeneity of variance. The F-like statistic (F') is designed specifically for use when there are unequal group variances and unequal n's (see C. C. Li, *Introduction to Experimental Statistics,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964, pp. 435-438). Whenever the Bartlett's test indicated the existence of heterogeneous variances, the F' was calculated and reported in the respective table along with the conventional F-ratio. In the event of a discrepancy between the conclusions drawn from the F and F' statistics, deference was given to the F' statistic.

TABLE 8
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MEAN YEARS OF SERVICE AT ONE OR MORE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGES BY FACULTY VOTING BEHAVIOR

Voting Behavior	Mean Years
APSCUF-PAHE	6.73
AAUP	4.70
AFT	4.75
No Rep	4.39
All Respondents	5.58

Source	Mean Square	DF	F-ratio	p
Between Groups	391.68	3	15.151	0.00[a]
Within Groups	25.85	1129		

[a]Bartlett's test for homogeneous variances significant: $F'^{*} = 17.0678$, $p > 0.001$.

*(See note, Table 7).

TABLE 9
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MEAN YEARS OF SERVICE AT OTHER (NON-PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE) INSTITUTIONS BY FACULTY VOTING BEHAVIOR

Voting Behavior	Mean Years
APSCUF-PAHE	2.25
AAUP	4.05
AFT	2.80
No Rep	4.27
All Respondents	2.97

Source	Mean Square	DF	F-ratio	p
Between Groups	291.58	3	13.824	0.00[a]
Within Groups	21.09	1122		

[a]Bartlett's test for homogeneous variances significant: $F' = 12.4539$, $p<0.001$.

TABLE 10
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF MEAN YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE
IN ELEMENTARY AND/OR SECONDARY SCHOOLS
BY FACULTY VOTING BEHAVIOR

Voting Behavior	Mean Years
APSCUF-PAHE	7.51
AAUP	2.97
AFT	4.27
No Rep	2.69
All Respondents	5.63

Source	Mean Square	DF	F-ratio	p
Between Groups	1851.98	3	44.531	0.00[a]
Within Groups	41.59	1129		

[a]Bartlett's test for homogeneous variances significant: $F' = 52.6978$, $p<0.001$.

TABLE 11
CROSSTABULATION OF VOTING BEHAVIOR AND FACULTY AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT WITH THE DEFINITION OF THE BARGAINING UNIT

Voting Behavior	Agree		Disagree		Row Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
APSCUF-PAHE	394	60.3	259	39.7	653	100.0
AAUP	251	65.5	132	34.5	383	100.0
AFT	25	58.1	18	41.9	43	100.0
No Rep	26	50.0	26	50.0	52	100.0
Column Total	696	61.5	435	38.5	1131	100.0

$\chi^2 = 6.118$, df = 3
p = 0.106

TABLE 12
CROSSTABULATION OF VOTING BEHAVIOR AND FACULTY SELECTION OF THE "MOST PRESTIGIOUS" ASSOCIATION

	Most Prestigious							
	APSCUF-PAHE		AAUP		AFT[a]		Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
APSCUF-PAHE	218	34.5	406	64.3	7	1.1	631	100.0
AAUP	6	1.6	309	98.3	0	0	375	100.0
AFT	1	2.3	41	95.3	1	2.3	43	100.0
No Rep	2	4.2	46	95.8	0	0	48	100.0
Column Total	227	20.7	862	78.6	8	0.7	1097	100.0

$\chi^2 = 176.1$,[a] df = 3
$p < 0.001$

[a]Two of the expected frequencies in the AFT category were less than 1. It was apparent from the contingency table that any significant differences would be between APSCUF-PAHE and AAUP. The χ^2 reported is a test for the resulting 2 x 4 table created by eliminating the AFT category from the calculations.[1]

[1]S. Siegel, in *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956, p. 178, recommended that, for chi-square tests with degrees of freedom greater than one, an accurate result is not obtainable if more than twenty percent of the cells have an expected frequency of less than five. The same holds true if one or more cells have an expected frequency of less than one.